DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 217 925 JC 820 293

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TITLE A Report on Literacy Development in Community Colleges: Technical Report.
INSTITUTION Arizona State Univ., Tempe. Dept. of Higher and Adult Education.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE May 82
CONTRACT 400-78-0061
NOTE 558p.

EDRS PRICE MF02/PC23 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Administrator Attitudes; *Adult Literacy; *Classroom Environment; Community Colleges; Compensatory Education; Course Objectives; Institutional Characteristics; *Literacy Education; Questionnaires; Remedial Programs; Research Design; Research Methodology; Student Attitudes; Teacher Attitudes; Two Year Colleges; Two Year College Students

ABSTRACT

This report is the outcome of a project designed to study the literacy demands of selected academic, vocational/technical, and developmental studies programs and courses and of administrative tasks in relation to the literacy skills of minority and other community college students. Chapter I discusses the nature and value of literacy in modern society, examines the community college's role in literacy education, outlines study purposes, and gives a transactional definition of literacy which provides the underlying structure of the report. Following a brief chapter on study design and methods, chapters III and IV describe the Richfield District and Oakwood College, which were the focus of the studies, and highlight the administrative priorities and motivations that appeared to have an impact on literacy. Chapter V considers literacy with respect to administrative tasks, such as registration, that require reading and writing skills, and with respect to student support services that promote literacy. Chapters VI through IX analyze literacy in the classroom, focusing on reading and writing operations, student motivation, instructor objectives, and the context for literacy provided by classroom events. The concluding chapter summarizes findings and discusses the study's implications for policy and research. Extensive appendices consider the background and details of study methodology and contain the survey instruments for faculty and student interviews. (Author/HB)

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ED217925

A Report on

Literacy Development in Community Colleges

Technical Report

For Project NIE-400-78-0061

Submitted to

The National Institute of Education
Department of Education
Washington, D.C.

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JC 820 293

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May, 1982

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PREFACE

In 1978, the National Institute of Education (NIE) funded two independent projects designed, in part, to:

> study the literacy demands of selected academic, Vocational/Technical and Developmental Studies (including bilingual education) programs, courses, and of administrative tasks in applying for entry, gaining financial aid, etc. in relation to the literacy skills of minority and other students who enroll in these courses.
> (as noted in the Contract, p. 4)

This report represents the collective efforts of over 30 researchers who, over a three year period, intensively studied one community college located in a southwest metropolis. At the same time that we carried out our project, a sister project was conducted by the Program in Community College Education at the University of Texas at Austin.

The findings reported here, in conjunction, with the ones produced by the Texas project, contribute to the growing body of literature on literacy and on community colleges. NIE's decision to examine literacy development in the context of the community college appears to have been wise. The varied missions of the community college, coupled with its diverse clientele, provided a unique and rich opportunity to learn about literacy and its development. The reader is invited to share the fruits of our labor in the report that follows.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project of this scope, intensity, and duration does not get accomplished without the assistance of numerous individuals. Field research techniques are labor-intensive and time consuming. In conducting this field study, the first acknowledgement must be given to those who made the study possible--the administrators, faculty, staff, and students at our site. Their cooperation was critical in terms of data collection. In addition to our college site, we spent considerable time at district offices. The willingness of central administration to contribute was also a key to successfully completing the project. Our appreciation goes out to these people who shared their professional (and sometimes personal) lives with us. They went out on a limb so that we could carry out this study.

We express our sincere gratitude to the research staff who toiled long hours to produce a mass of fieldnotes and interim reports. Dr. Betsy Brandt played a pivotal role in teaching us about ethnography and in preparing us for fieldwork. She also coordinated the instructional component for one semester, completed a faculty ethnography, contributed to the methodological appendices, and provided theoretical insights into the nature of literacy. Dr. Deborah Baldwin conducted the instructional design interviews for two semesters and excelled as coordinator of the instructional component. Dr. Irwin Sandler conducted the life events survey which was critical to the student services component. Dr. Carlos Vallejo provided valuable insights into bilingual issues pertaining to literacy and adaptation to college. Dr. Rolfe Wigand was instrumental in completing the faculty survey and communication network analysis. Dr. Nancy Elman undertook the self-study of research issues in multidisciplinary inquiry.

Graduate students made major contributions to this project in several areas. We pay special tribute to Rick Walsh, Liz Warren, and Linda Watts who were participant observers for three semesters and who wrote interim documents which greatly facilitated putting the final report together.

Others who observed in classes for at least one semester include Lou Attinasi, Julie Bertch, Ernest Lara, Monica Lowe, Chris McCrate, Mark Ryan, Nancy Siefer, and Virginia Stahl. Interviewing of faculty and staff and selected observations were conducted by Andrea Bartlett, Max Coffey, Penelope Denton, Paula King, Mark McDonald, Raul Montreal, and Joan Tice. These people were the eyes and ears of the project. Instrument development, materials analysis, and computer analyses were carried out by Don Baumen, Don Doucette, Gary Filan, Adina Marcus, John Porter, Jean Stengel, and Rob Witter. They too engaged in arduous tasks in a painstaking way.

We express our gratitude to our policy board who reviewed our plans and progress reports at critical junctures in the study. Thanks also go to our three project officers, Ricardo Martinez, Ramsey Selden, and Stephen R. Cahir who gave sound advice and guidance during the course of the project.

In closing, we owe a great debt to the two project secretaries--Bonnie Cotter and Pam Hanfelt. We acknowledge their great patience and skill in putting up with us and in keeping the project moving forward.

Richard C. Richardson, Jr.
Project Director

Kathryn J. Martens
Project Coordinator

CHAPTER I

LITERACY AND THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE: AN INTRODUCTION

The controversies inherent in recent attempts to define the mission of the community college are intertwined with the central issues in another contemporary debate - a debate about the nature and value of literacy in modern society. Concern about declining literacy and criticism of the community college seem to have increased together in recent years.

Public outcry about reports of inadequate literacy skills in the general population invariably places the blame on a failure of the public education system (including the community colleges, as its upward extension). Since the concept of literacy (to be defined more formally at the close of this chapter) involves the notion of "practical" reading and writing skills that promote individual and societal goals, these accusations constitute a charge of irrelevancy directed toward public education - a charge which goes far beyond the rhetoric of the "back to basics" movement.

At the same time, concern about the future of community colleges includes an uneasiness with the "lower" literacy skills of an increasingly diverse clientele. Claims of a waning in academic standards at community colleges seem to revolve around reports of a lessening in course demands for reading and writing activities in adaptation to a new student population.

Underlying discussions of literacy and community colleges is a growing willingness to call into question presumed links between higher education and the use of written language and to reestimate the value of both written language and education for the individual and society. The research reported in this volume makes a contribution to this ongoing discussion by focusing directly on literacy in a specific community college setting referred to throughout this report under the pseudonym of Oakwood College. In order to gain new insights, an open-ended, multidisciplinary approach was adopted, emphasizing qualitative naturalistic methods of data collecting and analysis. In presenting the results of this research, this report offers detailed descriptions of both the community college setting and the literate activity that occurred within that setting. Varying perspectives of students, faculty, administrators and researchers are included to make the description a "thick" (Geertz, 1973) or richly interpreted portrayal. Further, grounded hypotheses are generated about the nature and function of the literacy observed and its relationship to the characteristics of Oakwood College. Before beginning the report of literacy at Oakwood, we present a further discussion of the issues which motivated this research.

The Link Between Literacy and Education

Current education policy has been influenced by largely unquestioned beliefs about literacy. This set of beliefs seems to be based on the implicit assumption of a necessary connection between formal education and skilled reading and writing activity.

Literacy, for example, is considered as a (if not the) primary product of formal education, and literacy development is included as a major objective of instructional activities at all levels. Implicitly, individuals are expected to gain reading and writing skills commensurate with the level of formal education they receive. In fact, number of years of schooling has often been used as a measure of literacy level. In addition, the reading abilities of individuals and reading difficulty of materials have usually been expressed in terms of "grade" levels.

Following this view is the presumption that the type of reading and writing associated with schooling constitutes literacy. Academic uses of reading and writing become the valued forms of these activities and "college-like" reading and writing are given the highest status. If reading and writing differs from this prototype of college activity, it is considered less literate. According to this belief, if a community college encourages atypical uses of written language, it lowers its status and becomes less collegiate.

Of course, community colleges still cherish their transfer programs, which in paralleling university content and instructional techniques, represent one of the last bastions of the view that the literacy skills traditionally associated with higher education are intrinsically worthwhile. However, in addition to promoting "high" levels of literacy skills through academically-oriented, transfer programs, community colleges have also taken on a role in developing the more "basic" levels of literacy associated with elementary and secondary schooling. Within the last decade, the community college has taken on what Moore (1976) calls a "special commitment", a mission to serve all those who can benefit from instruction, seeking to enroll populations who had not previously found their way into the institution. Included within this group are students variously characterized as remedial, developmental, or underprepared because of their academic records and scores on standardized tests. These students arrive on campus in response to the institution's suggestion that they belong there and that the institution can increase their proficiency in literacy skills. Through the language skills courses it offers to these new students as well as through its transfer programs, the community college is at the cutting edge of a public policy designed to extend the presumed advantages of increased academic literacy skills to all segments of the population.

In discussions of educational policy, literacy figures as a facilitator as well as an outcome of instructional activities. Reading and writing activities are believed to be necessary in order to achieve the knowledge, cognitive skills and attitudinal changes that are the desired outcomes of formal education. In this view, reading and writing skills must increase in order for individuals to reach higher levels of knowledge and thinking. Declines in literacy skill are alarming because they are equated with losses in the potential for knowledge acquisition and cognitive ability in the populace. Accordingly, it is felt that if community college students are not required to read and write in their coursework, they are not learning as powerfully as they should. An "illiterate education" is considered a contradiction in terms.

Under the assumption that reading and writing skill is absolutely essential for participation in educational activities, an increasing number of courses in written communication skills have been added to the community college curriculum to prepare students for regular programs of instruction. Allowing students to enter regular programs without these skills is believed to portend dire consequences for both the students and the institution.

A further implicit tenet is that assessments of "school-like" reading and writing skills can be used as a measure of other aspects of educational attainment. Literacy becomes a symbol of other personal attributes including cognitive ability, knowledge, cultural refinement and socio-economic status. These attributions, based on reading and writing performance, may be used to assign opportunities and privileges, especially in terms of education and employment. Even in open door community colleges, reading and writing tests are often used to place students, and composition courses are customarily a unilateral prerequisite for degree attainment. Inability to read and write is used as an indication of a lack of ability to learn and profit from instruction.

While this set of interrelated beliefs about the link between literacy and education influences thinking about community colleges, current discussions are questioning the importance of this link. Community colleges have been in the forefront of the movement embracing technological changes and instructional techniques which render reading and writing less central to the communication process. Accompanying this trend has been the societal emphasis on educating new populations who have significantly different expectations about what it means to be literate and what the advantages of achieving increased literacy ought to be. The possibility of a valuable education that is less literate or at least differently literate becomes more conceivable.

Even more profound than this reexamination of the literacy-education link, is the social criticism questioning the value of both literacy and education. Critics have become skeptical of the value of participating in community college programs as well as the type of literacy promoted in higher education.

The next section focuses first on a discussion and critique of the community college as it has expanded its educational mission and then presents a summary of studies which question the practical value of written language skills. With this review as background, the major purposes of the study of literacy at Oakwood are presented and related to current trends in thinking about literacy. Chapter 1 concludes with a definition of literacy that provides the framework for the remaining sections of the report.

The Community College

An Expanding Mission

Since the founding of the first public junior college in Joliet, Illinois in 1901, six somewhat distinct missions have evolved. The first, historically, was offering the first two years of the standard baccalaureate sequence. This so-called transfer function remained the dominant purpose as measured by student interests and numbers of faculty involved until the early seventies when it was supplanted by vocational education as the primary objective of a majority of students (Richardson & Leslie, 1980). While the vocational education function is still described as predominant in most community college literature, it seems probable that it has been replaced in many community colleges already by continuing education defined as enrollment in discrete courses without reference to programs or degrees. As early as 1976, a study of California Community Colleges concluded that continuing education for part-time adult students had become the dominant function (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1981). The adult enrolled in a single course has become the modal community college student.

In the 80 years since the founding of Joliet, three other defined missions have emerged of substantially less magnitude than the three described above. The developmental remedial function was inevitable once the commitment to mass higher education had been confirmed. For most community colleges, this function emerged in the sixties. Community services encompass a fifth area of activity and represent a catch-all category into which a wide range of non-credit courses as well as a variety of public services and cultural programs, may be grouped. Recently, the Carnegie Council has suggested a "sixth great mission"-serving out-of-school and out-of-work youth. (Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1979)

Community college leaders accepted as an act of faith early in their history the belief that any person who attended a community college was benefited by the experience and that the value to society was less than the cost. The logical concommitant of this belief was the effort to make community colleges as all encompassing as their resources and the ingenuity of those who staffed them would permit. By the end of the seventies, there were suggestions that community colleges should evolve into community based, community renewal centers that would assume a proactive role in emancipating people "from the restrictions of ignorance and socio-economic disadvantage, unemployment, substandard housing, inadequate schooling, poverty and filth as well as freeing them from environmental stagnation and pollution". (Gollattscheck et al, 1979, p. 12) A less detailed, but equally encompassing proposal was: "To encourage and facilitate lifelong learning, with community as process and product." (Gleazer, 1980, p. 16)

From one perspective, these developments have brought closer the realization of the American dream of equality of opportunity for all. From a second perspective, the community colleges have offered more the illusion of opportunity than its reality. Almost from the inception of the period of transition to mass higher education, there have been critics who have questioned the impact of community college education on social stratification. More recently there have been growing concerns about quality and costs. A review of the criticisms of the past two decades provides context for this study.

Criticism of Quality

The first category of criticism does not question the value of traditional forms of higher education or of the prototypical literacy associated with it. On the contrary, this criticism focuses on the assertion that the community college is not promoting these valued forms of literacy and education. This view, which sees the maintenance of standards as the solution to educational problems, reflects the influence of the concept of meritocracy in American higher education. The meritocratic perspective argues for fixed and relatively unchanging standards against which individuals are to be measured and sorted. The competency testing movement, for example, seeks to link the award of educational credentials to scores obtained upon tests so as to reconcile the democratic ideal of attaining roughly equal results from education with the meritocratic principal of providing equal opportunities but rewarding only those who demonstrate the quality of their achievements (Diehl, 1979, p. 49).

At the root of most contentions that community colleges are not maintaining standards has been the continuing expansion of clienteles and functions in the face of constant or declining resources. The diversity in students and functions which has characterized the institution since its inception has been further extended as educational opportunities have increasingly been made available without regard to age, race, gender, socio-economic status, previous academic preparation or even the ability to speak English.

Clark (1960) discussed the impact of changing student objectives and characteristics on the college's structure and curriculum. In Clark's words, "the mass enterprise in higher education contributes to a vast democratization, but it also entails a lowering of standards of admission and attainment..." (p. 155). He defined the role of the community college as dealing with the potential dropout but added, "This perception has strong negative consequences for the status of the college in society" (p. 160).

Discussions of lowering standards includes concerns about faculty attitudes, curriculum and instructional process. Cohen and Brawer (1977) suggest that most faculty have lost contact with a parent discipline while simultaneously refusing to become associated with the moving ideas of the community college. In a later article, Cohen and Brawer suggest the curriculum collapsed almost totally during the seventies with only a miniscule number of students following the programs listed in the catalog. Course integrity has also been violated with students withdrawing whenever they please.

London (1980) adds to concerns about quality with his graphic portrayal of current instructional processes in an urban community college in Massachusetts. On a typical day more than half of the student body were absent; busy students developed norms for regulating their efforts, budgeting time and resisting teachers. Student resistance to conceptual demands of the liberal arts courses led to a process of negotiation and ultimately to faculty modification of class demands in the face of a skeptical and unreceptive audience. A failure to modify classroom demands led, in one instance, to student revolt. The pressure for students and faculty to conform to a set of norms at variance with activities traditionally regarded as prototypical of collegiate learning environments has also been reported by Neumann and Riesman (1980) in their study of the elite student. They found that upwardly mobile community college students experienced criticism from their peers and from the faculty.

Concern about quality has led to examinations of major areas of the curriculum. Kirst (1981), noting the increasing proportion of community college transfers dropping out in academic difficulty from several University of California campuses, questions articulation agreements which give credit for courses taken rather than material mastered. It is his position that the trust needed to support the system in California is being eroded as students who enter underprepared as juniors, experience the problems of trying to catch up. The California Postsecondary Commission summarizes the problems identified by Kirst and extends them to the State University and College System as well (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1981).

Social Criticism

A second type of criticism is more radical. Rather than questioning whether community colleges are maintaining the standards of higher education and literacy, this criticism questions whether extending higher levels of education and literacy will lead to beneficial results for individuals or society. This criticism is part of a reaction to the movement for mass education.

The last twenty years have witnessed a watershed for American higher education between the meritocratic influences of the fifties and the commitment to mass access embodied in the Higher Education Act Amendments of 1972. Prominent among public strategies for extending opportunities to all has been the growth and development of the community college as the major force in the movement from meritocratic to mass higher education. In 1961, 405 of these institutions enrolled 645,000 students in credit courses. By 1980, the comparable figures were 1,049 institutions and nearly five million students (Gernhart, 1981).

The movement toward mass higher education was undertaken with the implicit assumption that issues of social equity could best be addressed through reducing the inequalities attributable to differences in access to postsecondary education. Almost as soon as community colleges had become society's chosen instrument for promoting equal access, the first study questioning their outcomes appeared. In 1960, Clark's study of San Jose College identified the latent terminal student who entered the college with unrealistic objectives and who subsequently was "cooled out" by a combination of counseling and experiences (Clark, 1960). The numbers being cooled out were substantial, amounting to as many as half of the total student population.

Clark's criticism was very mild. Some institutions needed to provide access for students whose measured abilities and previous preparation made them high risk for the four-year college or university. The two-year college had assumed this role and through a process which included counseling, experience with regular classes, warning notices and probation, the student changed objectives to the mutual advantage of both society and the student. The cooling out function had to remain obscure to those involved for, "Should the function become obvious, the ability of the junior college to perform it would be impaired." This last observation seems important in view of the questions about minority student distribution now being raised by such researchers as Olivas (1979). Recently Clark has reviewed his 1960 study. His conclusion is: "Any system ... that has to reconcile such conflicting values as equity, competence and individual choice ... has to effect compromise procedures that allow for some of each. The cooling out function is one possible compromise and perhaps even a necessary one" (Clark, 1980, p. 30).

Criticism by Jencks and Reisman (1968) suggested that the community college "...is not primarily an alternative model for other colleges or an alternative path to the top for individuals but rather a safety valve releasing pressures that might otherwise disrupt the dominant system" (p. 492). This permitted universities to pursue their own ends without the inconvenience of dealing with the consequences of excluding the "dull witted or uninterested majority". The measure of efficiency in serving the marginal student was the brevity of the stay. Quick departures saved staff time and taxpayer's money. It was only necessary for the student to stay long enough to blame himself rather than society for the failure.

Both Karabel (1972a, 1972b, 1974) and Zwerling (1976) extended the Jencks and Reisman thesis that community colleges perpetuated a class based tracking system rather than providing for social mobility. As evidence they cited the emphasis on vocational/technical education which, from Karabel's perspective, contributed to educational inflation which he defined as a process through which younger people invest more time in formal education to avoid downward mobility (1974, p. 13). Studies by Berg (1970), Wilms (1975, 1980), and Pincus (1980) have questioned the economic payoff of vocational/technical programs to community college students as contrasted with such alternatives as high school preparation, non-vocational college education and the more focused courses of study offered in proprietary schools. Community college proponents have responded to these criticisms with indignation and anger but with little systematic data. The assumption seems always to be that the results would have been different if the research had been done within a community college - but it rarely, if ever, is (Vaughan, 1979).

Changing student preferences have diminished the credibility of the concerns of the social critics. Prominantly featured in their arguments was a report of student resistance to vocational/technical curricula which Karabel (1974) and Zwerling (1976) identified as a type of developing class consciousness. Since their works were published, career offerings have come to dominate the community college curriculum with bachelors degree holders competing with high school graduates for openings in the most desirable programs. In addition, two studies of the social origins of more than 18,000 students enrolled in the predominantly career oriented community colleges of North Carolina, found those enrolling in technical programs to have come from more affluent backgrounds and more frequently to have studied at a four-year college than those in transfer offerings (Templin & Shearon, 1980).

Concern about the environment offered for the recent high school graduate has also been expressed by Astin (1978) who has suggested that community colleges may not really serve the interests of this group since their chances of persisting to a degree are less than at a four-year institution when all of the major variables related to individual differences are controlled. Researchers such as Olivas (1979) are concerned about Astin's conclusions because of the disproportionate numbers of minority students concentrated in community colleges. Olivas' qualified conclusion is that community colleges both provide opportunities for minorities and perpetuate inequalities.

In retrospect, it seems that the social critics of community colleges are not so much in error as they are shooting at the wrong target. Clearly, the system of public education in this nation supports current societal arrangements including class and status differentials. Why this should be a source of surprise, let alone criticism, is somewhat mystifying. The alternative to supporting the existing social order would be to subvert it. Institutions financed and controlled by the dominant elements of the existing order should not be expected to pose a serious threat to its continuity and domination. In fact, the evidence cited by Karabel and Zwerling suggests that to the extent any institution of higher education provides opportunities for those at the bottom of the structure to move upward, those opportunities are most likely to be found in the community college although not nearly in the numbers suggested by advocates.

There is evidence that for a small number of students, the opportunity for upward social mobility is more real than illusory. Neumann and Riesman (1980) studied elite students whom they defined as individuals who would not have been admitted to selective independent four-year institutions as freshmen, but who were admitted because of community college performance and who reached four-year status and graduated. Karabel (1972a) suggests: "that the community colleges cannot do what many of their proponents claim ... does not mean they can do nothing at all. They do make a difference for many students providing them opportunities for a better life than their parents" (p. 558).

The principal value of social criticisms of the community college lies in the contrast they offer to the often extravagant claims of many community college proponents. In retrospect, it seems naive to have assumed that educational credentials or high levels of literacy skills would serve the same purpose in a society where everyone who desired them could attain them as they did in a society where they were limited to a socio-economic and intellectual elite. Clearly, the truth lies somewhere between the two, for educational opportunity and literacy have a more limited impact on social mobility than is generally well understood. There has been a tendency to overestimate the contributions of formal education to social mobility and to underestimate the extent to which it supports the existing patterns of social distribution. Graff (1979), for example, commented on the effects of unequal access to schooling in nineteenth century Canadian cities.

> (T)he education of the sons of illiterates contributed little to the small scale but common gains they made much as their parents' small successes had nothing whatsoever to do with their lack of education. (p. 190)

Ethnicity and sex were much more pervasive influences on occupational mobility. Education reinforced the process of stratification between groups. Irish Catholics did poorly regardless of education, with literacy bringing only the slightest of benefits.

Along with the social critics of the community college, interdisciplinary literacy researchers have been questioning the social value of the literacy associated with formal schooling (Akinnaso, 1971). Historians, for example, have long documented the distribution of the ability to read and write within a society and have correlated this information with other characteristics of the society, including aspects of its technoeconomic and political systems. Anthropologists have had a continuing interest in describing the differences between so-called literate societies and nonliterate societies (Goody & Watt, 1968) while economists have focused their interests on the cost-benefit analysis of investments in literacy development and expected gains in terms of gross national product (see Bormuth, 1978).

Questioning the Value of Literacy

Exaggerated claims for the consequences of literacy as for community college education have long been made. Literacy, the "tool of progress", (Barker & Escarpit, 1973) has been connected to social, political, and economic development (see Eisenstein, 1980; Resnick & Resnick, 1977). Technoeconomic benefits are said to result from literacy's facilitation of more efficient and effective performance of essential tasks in a nation's production and delivery system. Literacy is also thought to lead to patriotism and democratic potential as well as increased social mobility and a secure socio-economic status for a larger proportion of the population.

The use of written language is said to be responsible for thinking which is logical, explicit, abstract, and analytically powerful (Olson, 1977; Havelock, 1976; Goody, 1977). It is further considered as the hallmark of a civilized person in a civilized society (Olson, 1977). Literacy has even been linked to the transferral of a society's established value system and to the acquisition of ethical and religious standards.

Although belief in these valued consequences of literacy is wide-spread, all have been called into question. Research is showing that literacy does not necessarily lead to socio-economic benefit, higher levels of thinking, or moral worth (e.g. Lockridge, 1974; Schuman, Inkeles & Smith, 1967; Sanderson, 1972), especially as literacy levels once intended for an educational elite are extended to the population at large.

Graff (1979), for example, found only limited relationships between the possession of literacy skills and social mobility in nineteenth century Canada. For Blacks, illiteracy was scarcely a handicap when considered in relation to racial status and discrimination. English Protestants, in contrast, met with some success whether educated and literate or not. Graff's argument does not imply the absence of a relationship between literacy and social mobility. Rather it suggests that literacy contributes to the impact of racial and social discrimination. For example, as Diehl (1979) points out, Blacks were not taught to read because they could not vote. Later, they were not permitted to vote because they could not read.

Emerging from historical studies of literacy is a realization that the type of literacy associated with education, especially higher education, may not be the literacy most important to success in daily life. Resnick and Resnick (1977) note that: "(N)ot all segments of the population have come to demand literacy skills of the kind that educators, members of Congress and other government officials think necessary" (p. 371). It would appear that secular "salvation", through literacy, like its earlier religious counterpart, may be promoted over the objections of people who see little relevance between the real world and the demands imposed upon them in the educational setting.

Heath (1982) argues that current reports of literacy decline ignore conditions of actual use of literacy in work settings, and religious, economic and legal institutions, as well as in the home and community. Written language is used extensively in these contexts, but its use may bear little resemblance to the literacy events most commonly associated with schooling. In addition, television and other media alter the importance of reading to get daily information while the increasing use by industry of observation and practice for training new workers places emphasis on listening and speaking skills rather than mastery of written materials.

> (It) is possible that the writers who proclaimed the advantages of literacy overestimated its value to ordinary men and women. People who were not unduly troubled about salvation, who were content within their horizons of knowledge and experience, and whose daily or seasonal routine required no mastery of print or script had no pressing need of literacy and could hardly be persuaded to seek it. (Cressy, 1980, p. 1)

Perhaps, as Graff (1979) suggests, we are in the grips of a literacy myth. We do not know what literacy means or what individuals should be expected to achieve as a result of higher literacy skills. And so we flail out at schools for failing to accomplish the undefined while we apply, through the political process, standards that are inconsistent and contradictory. In particular, we are forced to examine long, unquestioned assumptions about how reading and writing are related to educational processes.

Purposes of the Study: Literacy at Oakwood Community College

The community college, because of the diversity of its purpose, programs, and students, becomes an especially appropriate setting in which to study the uses and functions of literacy in higher education. Similarly, the literacy issue becomes an appropriate focus for a reexamination of the nature and purposes of contemporary community colleges.

This is essentially the rationale for the study of literacy at Oakwood Community College to be reported here. The overall goal of the research was to provide a description of literacy clearly related to the nature of a community college context. This general goal can be translated into more specific purposes which are consistent with current trends in literacy research.

Early studies of literacy were based on fairly simplistic conceptions. Literacy was considered as a trait - a general ability, usually acquired in formal schooling, that individuals would take with them to all situations they would later encounter. A dichotomy was envisioned between the privileged literates and the general population of illiterates in society. Either individuals could read and write or they couldn't. Classification was based on self-report, years of schooling or demonstration of ability to perform such basic tasks as signing one's name or reading a brief bible passage.

As reading and writing have become more widespread in the population and as the multiple functions and uses of reading and writing have become harder to ignore, a simplistic view of literacy as an undifferentiated trait of individuals has been deemed inadequate to guide either research or policy. From recent research, four requirements for an adequate approach to a study of literacy can be gleaned. These requirements serve as guiding concepts for the Oakwood study.

Describing Varieties of Reading and Writing

Recent literacy research has attempted first to provide careful descriptions of written materials and reading and writing behavior, itself. Survey research, for example, has documented the wide variety of reading and writing activities that people engage in on a day-to-day basis (Mikulecky, Shanklin, & Caverly, 1979; Robinson, 1980; Murphy, 1975; Northcutt, 1975). In addition, literacy researchers are taking advantage of the analysis procedures developed by linguists to describe written language. Descriptions are provided at a number of levels as necessary. These levels of description may include graphic characterizations of a written message, its lexical and syntactic characteristics, and its discourse structure or structure of the text as a whole.

In addition to descriptions of written language content, a consideration of how the language is processed cognitively has also been seen as essential to studies of literacy. Hierarchies of language processing skills have been developed which generally move from the levels of simple recognition and reproduction to levels requiring more cognitive work including, for example, the manipulation of the content, the use of background knowledge in drawing inferences and finally the use of metacognitive and problem-solving skills.

One major purpose of our research at Oakwood was to identify and describe the written materials used in both classroom and non-classroom contexts within the college and to gather information about how these materials were processed by students.

Considering the Functions of Literacy

Descriptions of varieties of reading and writing in terms of language content and processing provide a good beginning for a study of literacy. However, differences in reading and writing behaviors cannot be interpreted without reference to functions. Reading and writing, like other language acts, have communicative, expressive, phatic, and directive uses (Hudson, 1980). These uses of reading and writing have been seen to have both instrumental and symbolic functions which lead to a wide range of consequences for individuals and for society. The identification of the instrumental functions of literacy involves specification of just how the use of reading and writing contributes to the accomplishment of a task. This requires that one be able to delineate the difference that reading and writing makes in the nature of the task, its execution and results. Symbolic functions of literacy on the other hand, concern the meanings attached to specific types of reading and writing behaviors and the consequences of these associated meanings for individuals (Diehl, 1979).

The concept of symbolic literacy involves the use of information about individuals' reading and writing abilities (often assessed through the use of standardized examinations) to form opinions about them in other contexts. Even though the relationship between an individual's ability to make high scores on a specific measure of symbolic literacy and to perform in either academic or work settings has been quite low, seldom accounting for more than 25 percent of the variation involved in predicting success, measures of symbolic literacy have traditionally been used to place individuals when they enter school, to evaluate their level of success when they leave, to determine whether they qualify for many types of employment, and to evaluate their readiness for promotion. Recently, there has been a national movement to initiate competency testing among public school students. There have also been suggestions for similar tests among community college graduates. This movement represents an effort to tie award of educational credentials to the ability to perform on a measure of symbolic literacy. As such, it may represent a reaction to the extent to which the instrumental view of literacy has come to influence the types of literacy skills emphasized in schools and colleges.

A second purpose of the Oakwood study was to gather information, from a variety of perspectives, about both the symbolic and instrumental functions attributable to literacy in various activities throughout the college.

Considering the Context for Literacy

Functions of reading and writing, however, cannot be described in isolation from the context of their use. In line with more general trends in sociolinguistics, reading and writing, as language phenomena, are felt to be uninterpretable without an adequate consideration of the social situations in which they occur (Basso, 1974; Hymes, 1964). When context is taken into account, literacy is revealed to be a highly variable construct. What is literate activity changes with the characteristics of specific settings and the cultural values inherent in these settings.

Currently an interactionist perspective is influencing literacy research and is reinforcing the importance of studying context. This perspective considers written language behavior not only as affected by social context but also as forming part of the social context, itself (Bloome, 1981). Writing and reading behaviors are viewed as contributing to the definition and maintenance of social rules and roles and so may continue to occur even when they do not seem to be functioning to communicate and preserve information.

A third purpose of the Oakwood study, then, was to relate literacy to a detailed and thick description of the college context including not only the immediate classroom and non-classroom settings in which reading and writing occur but also the college as a whole and the community college district of which it is a part. Any one literacy context was viewed as part of and affected by a whole system of interrelated contexts which needed to be investigated.

Considering the Goals and Motivations of Individuals

Following an interactionist perspective, the context of literacy is viewed as the joint production of all participants who are interacting to pursue individual goals and motivations. The classroom context, for example, and the literacy associated with it can be viewed as the result of an ongoing negotiation among students and instructor. Information about the motivations of these participants, therefore, becomes an essential part of a description of literacy.

However, while we hypothesized that the motivations of the actors in specific literacy contexts (instructors, students and staff) would have the strongest influence on literacy, we also saw the need to investigate the potential indirect impact of the goals and priorities of college and District administrators. We viewed the classroom and non-classroom literacy contexts as what Scollon (1980) has called focused situations.

> In focused situations, the interaction tends to be strongly guided by goals or purposes that have been formulated before the situation has begun...a difference between participants views of what is going on is attributed to inadequacies of their understanding of what kind of situation it is supposed to be.
> (Scollon, 1980, p. 6)

At Oakwood, the predetermined understandings of classroom and non-classroom situations derived from strong institutional goals as well as general motivational orientations of instructors and students formed before they entered these settings. In addition, the nature of a college context has a well established tradition in our culture.

Scollon suggests that situations can become increasingly focused when several conditions exist: when there is a hierarchical authority structure, when there are limits of time, and when there is participation by a large number of individuals. All three of these conditions seemed to apply to Oakwood, suggesting that over time these situations have been becoming increasingly focused. When dealing with a highly focused situation, Scollon suggests that rather than focusing energy on attempts to help individuals cope with the situation, "we need to look more closely at how situations become focused" (p. 7) to begin with. As applied to a study of literacy in a community college, this perspective calls for the researcher to seek an overall understanding of how the college contexts came to be structured as they are in order to interpret literacy within any single context. This concern led to an interest in adaptation as one of the unifying themes of the study.

There are many views about how and why organizations change. None of these views provided an adequate framework for explaining the adaptations we observed over the three years of this study. Among those who have written on change, the views of Pfeffer (1977, 1978) proved most useful.

Organizations are influenced by and in turn seek to influence their external environment. In particular, organizations which depend upon their external environment for resources are sensitive to changes which threaten the stability of that relationship. Community colleges such as Oakwood, supported by enrollment driven funding formulas, engage in a variety of responses to limit the impact of changes in the external environment or to avoid loss of revenues. They may establish "special activities or subunits only loosely linked to other organizational activities as a way of containing both attempts at influence and the effects of uncertainty on the organization" (Pfeffer, 1978, p. 135). Or diversification may be used as a response to avoid dependence on a single or declining market.

While the organization seeks to manage its environment to avoid structural change, accumulated differences between actual and formally defined organizational influence patterns promotes such change through a political rather than rational (i.e. planning) process. The change process can be guided by those who possess the necessary sources of influence including: 1) control of critical resources, 2) control of access to information and information channels, 3) sources of legitimacy for proposed changes, and 4) formal authority.

Not all change that occurs within an organization happens because of administrative direction. Frequently, the outcomes of administratively directed change are different from those desired when the change was initiated. Change that happens as a result of adaptive responses not initiated by administrators tends to be evolutionary in nature and for that reason, to produce disjunctures between external groups seeking to achieve change and internal constituencies concerned with avoiding change. Many of the stimuli to which administrators respond are the symptoms produced by these disjunctures. Administrative interventions, in response to perceived stimuli, produce conflict in direct proportion to the magnitude of the change that results.

Because the sources of influence within an organization are normally controlled by administrators, most directed change originates within this group. Since the rationality of organizational actions depends upon preferences for certain outcomes, the group which controls the process also determines its rationality in the absence of agreed upon goals or preference orderings. When resources are limited, the number of goals that can be pursued simultaneously are restricted and the use of power increases. However, the use of power has dysfunctional characteristics so administrators try to keep their profile as low as possible.

The process for pursuing goals when resources are scarce while simultaneously keeping the visibility of power strategies and the resultant conflict as low as possible, requires the adoption of criteria for decision making favorable to key administrators. These criteria can then be used to achieve priorities in a process of joint decision making which has the appearance of decentralization but the actual effect of centralization through majority rule. The process also results in greater legitimacy for the decision.

This concept of adaptation led to the decision to examine priorities, administrative decision making, administrative behavior to achieve priorities and the consequences in terms of faculty commitment and eventual impact on specific literacy contexts such as the classroom. Adaptation within these specific contexts is evolutionary in nature and is affected by administrators primarily through their ability to influence normative expectations of the organization over time.

A fourth purpose of the Oakwood study, then, was to gather data on the goals, priorities and motivations of students, faculty, staff and administrators and to relate this information to the nature of specific literacy contexts in the college.

The four purposes discussed above guided our data collection and preliminary analysis. Over time a more specific conceptual framework for the study emerged which finally took a form best described as a transactional orientation.

A Transactional View of Literacy

Transactional analyses have been made of a variety of phenomena including perception (Cantril, Ames, Hastorf, & Ittelson, 1961), communication (Pearce & Sharp, 1973), self-esteem (Meacham, 1975) and adult personality (Datan, 1976). Common to all of these analyses is a set of assumptions which draw from two related perspectives: a systems framework and activity theory.

A Systems Framework

As one variation of a systems framework, a transactional orientation views any phenomena including literacy as an aspect of a system of interrelated structured elements which must be studied holistically since the whole is always considered to be more than the sum of its parts. Each element of a system simultaneously influences and is influenced by every other (Urban, 1978).

A transactional orientation considers open rather than closed systems. Because open systems transact with other systems, they cannot be understood without reference to their external relationships. Any particular context is seen to be embedded within a suprasystem of larger contexts. In our case, the classroom or other specific campus situation is part of larger institutional and societal contexts which must be studied to interpret literacy adequately.

This perspective has been well stated by Ogbu. "School ethnography should be holistic; it should show how education is linked with the economy, the political system, local social structure and the belief system served by the schools. ...While the classroom is the scene of the battle, the causes may lie elsewhere" (Ogbu, 1981, p. 6, 13).

Activity Theory

A transactional orientation also draws on activity theory as derived from the work of Vygotsky (1962) and Leont'ev (1974). In such a theory, people and their environments can only be understood when they are seen as part of ongoing transactional activity. Ceaseless activity leads inevitably to changes in individuals and the contexts in which they are active. Literacy in such a view would also be subject to constant change.

Further, all human activity is considered to be motivated and goal-directed. Goals give overall shapes and direction to human actions. However, the choice of specific operations used to execute actions is determined by the situation in which they are performed (Leont'ev, 1974). For example, a student's notetaking action within a class may be directed by the goal of achieving a good grade in the course but the specific operations (including writing and reading) used to accomplish the notetaking depends on all aspects of the classroom context.

By combining both systems and activity perspectives, a transactional orientation provides the basis for a comprehensive and dynamic conception of literacy. In adopting such a conception we formulated a definition of literacy as:

> The use of reading and writing as operations in the service of a goal to accomplish transactions within a specific context.

In our view, literacy is a functional and relational construct. Literacy is not synonomous with the operations of reading and writing per se. And, the emphasis is not on describing quantitative differences in literacy abilities. Instead, to describe and understand the nature of literacy, it is necessary to examine all of the elements of our definition. Thus, the researcher must describe the contexts for literacy and how they are established, the goals to which reading and writing are directed, and the activities (transactions) within which they are enacted. In addition, the researcher studying literacy must examine these elements in concert to establish patterns. Changes in any of the elements alters, by definition, the nature of literacy. Rather than leading to evaluative statements about good or bad or high or low levels of literacy, our relational view leads to the identification of varieties of literacy.

Organization of the Report

This transactional definition provides the underlying structure for our report of literacy at Oakwood. Following a brief chapter on the design of the study and our approach to data collection and analysis, we begin the presentation of findings, moving from more global to more focused contexts. Chapters 3 and 4 describe the Richfield District and Oakwood College with special reference to the priorities and motivations of administrators that seemed to have an impact on literacy. Chapter 5 turns to a consideration of literacy in two types of specific campus contexts: a) essential administrative tasks such as registration and b) student support services. Following this, Chapters 6 through 9 present an analysis of literacy in the classroom context. A concluding chapter serves as a summary and a discussion of findings. Specific hypotheses about literacy and the Oakwood College context are formulated as are implications for research and policy.

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CHAPTER II

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The problems inherent in looking for simple explanations for human behavior in complex organizational settings have been clearly delineated in the classic experiments on illumination in the Hawthorne Plant of Western Electric (Roethlisberger, 1941). Despite this study and many subsequent findings of a similar nature, educational researchers have sought answers to difficult questions about human behavior by conducting experimental or quasi-experimental studies in which the assumption has been that all of the important variables could either be isolated or controlled. At best, such studies have produced insights about human beings divorced from their context. At worst, they have produced serious misconceptions about how people interact in, and are affected by, the environments of the institutions in which they teach or learn. Not infrequently, simplistic findings have been misused to promote political ends as in the case of the current debate about Coleman II (Breneman, 1981; Husen, 1981). It is not surprising that practitioners have generally found such studies irrelevant.

This study represents one of a growing genre which aims at holistic descriptions and the inductive development of hypotheses which represent most plausible explanations of the data observed. We began with a concern about how community colleges are affected by the increasingly diverse clientele they have chosen to serve and sometimes to recruit. We were also interested in what happens to nontraditional students as they negotiate the community college environment. From these concerns and an extensive review of the literature we developed questions as an approach to providing focus for our efforts. The questions were used to design a strategy for collecting and analyzing relevant data. Because of our concern with holistic description and the inductive use of data, we adopted a multidisciplinary approach with primary reliance upon the discipline of anthropology.

While there have been several ethnographic or quasi-ethnographic studies of the community college (London, 1978; Zwerling, 1973; Clark, 1960), each has been the work of a single researcher with the limitations this implies in terms of comprehensiveness and researcher bias. By contrast, more than twenty researchers contributed to this study. In none of the major areas of interest (administration, student support services and instruction) was there reliance upon the observations or perspectives of a single person. While the numbers involved posed enormous problems of coordination and analysis, they also contributed significantly to the validity and reliability of the results.

Our study also differs from others in terms of its duration and intensity. With the exception of Zwerling, which seems more an impressionistic interpretation than a research analysis, the ethnographic studies of the community college setting have been limited both in terms of the period over which the study was conducted and the range and intensity of observations within the institution. Our data, while collected with greatest intensity over a 24 month period, covers more than three years of life in the Richfield District. One of the culminating activities of analysis was the review of findings and interpretations with administrators and faculty in the research site.

Those who search for hypotheses, proven or disproven, in the following pages are doomed to disappointment. Our first objective was to provide a thick description of a functioning community college. From the studies described in the remaining pages of this chapter we have attempted to construct a chronology of the processes and structures through which administrators, faculty and students interacted. Our special focus has been the definition and description of literacy as we observed it in more than 20 separate classrooms, each of which was studied for a full semester. Concurrently, we also examined the impact of support services and administrative decision making as determinants of the context in which literacy functions. Because we looked at the institution over time, we tried to be particularly sensitive to adaptations that seemed to represent the efforts of various actors to cope with pressures for change. Our operational construct was adaptation which included administratively directed efforts to achieve change as well as change which flowed from other influences such as changing student characteristics or faculty response to student demands.

One of the most challenging aspects of this study was deciding upon the relevance of data for inclusion in the report. Within the limitations inherent in the necessity of making such choices, our descriptions of the classrooms, the meetings and the actors in Oakwood College and the Richfield District are as accurate as we could make them. Our final chapter, by intent, goes beyond our data to discuss our interpretation of the meaning of what we saw. For this discussion we have drawn upon our data, the literature, our combined experience and, where necessary, our intuition to suggest the implications of this study for researchers, practitioners and policy makers. These interpretations represent hypotheses about how variables relate and what they mean. We expect our hypotheses and policy recommendations to be in some measure, controversial and, to some degree, in error.

The intent of research which uses grounded theory as its guiding methodology is to develop hypotheses which can be tested subsequently in other settings. As these hypotheses are substantiated or refuted our knowledge of literacy and the community college is enhanced. Of course, the testing of our hypotheses in other settings represents the only appropriate form of generalization for this type of study.

We have provided this overview of our purposes and methodology to orient nonresearchers to the study. Readers uninterested in the more technical discussion of methodology which follows may wish to proceed directly to Chapter III which introduces and describes the Richfield District.

Guidelines for the Research Effort

The purposes of the Oakwood study, as discussed in Chapter I, called for an approach to research designed to produce original description and interpretation of a complex human phenomenon - literacy - within the context of a complex organizational setting - the community college. The need for an inductive, qualitative approach to research in this area is illustrated in the following statements:

(1) There was no common definition of the focus of the study, literacy. Thus, it became important early in the study to develop definitions that would describe literacy in terms of the demands imposed by transfer, occupational and developmental course offerings.

(2) The variance explained by multiple correlations between available student descriptive data and performance in the classroom seldom amounts to more than forty percent of the total. We know beyond reasonable doubt the predictive value of previous performance and scores on standardized examinations. What we do not know is why or how students succeed when our predictions are that they should fail. Similarly, we know very little about why they fail when they should succeed.

(3) The experiences of institutions such as the City University of New York indicates that the process of adaptation to open admissions affects the institution as well as the student (Kopperman, 1978). There is very little systematic data on the attitudes, values and behavior of administrators and faculty as they cope with the stress of adapting to a changing student clientele. Understanding institutional adaptation means understanding the perceptions and stresses of those who guide or are influenced by the process.

(4) Colleges have large and growing investments in administrative and support staffs. The assumptions under which such investments are initiated and maintained is that there is a substantial and positive relationship between what happens in the classroom and the actions of those whose responsibilities are carried out in isolation from the classroom setting. How is the definition and acquisition of literacy affected by the actions of administrators and support staff?

(5) Public policy decisions were made to fund individuals rather than institutions. Vocational education has been given special attention at the expense of general education. Evaluative data on the outcomes of such decisions may be selectively distorted if furnished by the beneficiaries of the decisions or of such a general nature as to be of little value if based on secondary analysis of data collected for other purposes.

Essential Characteristics of Research

In order to provide new insight concerning these issues, we adopted a research approach which fulfilled a number of specific criteria. First it was open-ended and iterative. Initial research questions were broad and a conceptual framework was generated from the data, itself, rather than from previous studies. However, a continuing review of related research influenced the shape of this framework as it emerged. The data collection process was modified as the research progressed according to the emerging framework. Analysis and data collection began together. The investigators examined data as they arrived, began to code, categorize, and conceptualize research findings from the beginning (Stern, 1980). Throughout the study the processes of analysis and data collection influenced each other.

A second characteristic of the research was its naturalistic approach to studying phenomena of interest as they occur in a real world context. The researchers strove to be unobtrusive and did not attempt to manipulate or control any aspect of the context. In addition, the study continued over an extended period of time in order to allow the discovery of patterns and regularities:

> a long-term stay in a community facilitates the differentiation of what is valid from what is not, and the assembling of contextual supporting information to buttress claims to validity.
> (Pelto & Pelto, 1978, p. 33)

The research was also designed to yield holistic descriptions. Although a specific aspect of a situation might become a focus of interest to researchers, its relationship to the characteristics of the context as a whole was emphasized. The attempt was to describe single situations thoroughly in order to gain an understanding of their structure and processes.

Furthering the achievement of a comprehensive view of literacy and the community college setting, multiple perspectives of various participants and of the researchers were sought. This aspect of the research approach was designed to produce "thick" (Geertz, 1973) description or description, which as it incorporates multifaceted interpretations of data, adds the dimension of meaning to the analysis of findings. As part of the effort to provide multiple perspectives, the research was designed to develop and present both "emic" and "etic" interpretations of data. The distinction between etic and emic is complex and multidimensional but involves in essence the difference "between phenomena considered from the point of view of standardized measurement of form (or if not in terms of measurement, at least in terms of systematic ways in which scientists as external observers define units) and phenomena considered from the functional point of view of the ordinary actor in everyday life" (Erickson, 1977, p. 60). The decision to include both etic and emic interpretations had important consequences for the research design. It meant that both qualitative and quantitative analysis were required as well as prestructured and relatively unstructured data collection techniques. In general, this aspect of the research along with its characteristics as open-ended, naturalistic and holistic meant that multiple methods and sources of data were employed to enhance the validity of findings.

The data collection process was guided by a fundamental premise that "...examining cultural behavior with a variety of different approaches greatly enhances the credibility of research results" (Pelto & Pelto, 1978, p. 121). This premise implicitly recognized that any single research tool or technique has serious limitations. The use of multiple tools and techniques allowed for the cross-checking of data to compensate for the limitations of any single approach. Data were collected from multiple sources with regard to the same event, occurrence or activity as a validation strategy.

These criteria for the research were established to seek new perspectives on old issues through the generation of rich description and grounded interpretations and hypotheses. The following sections describe the research effort of the Oakwood study. First a chronology is presented which emphasizes the evolving nature of the study. Then the primary methods of data collection are described as well as their application within three components of the study. The chapter closes with an overview of the analysis procedures utilized as part of the overall research effort.

Chronology of the Study

Following notification of funding in October of 1978, a team was assembled representing specializations in organizational analysis, reading, curriculum and instruction, anthropology, educational psychology, bilingual education and adult basic education. Among the original seven member team there was also substantial experience in community colleges and in student services. Added to the team during the design year was a specialist in task analysis and a community psychologist.

In recognition of the complexity of the proposed research as well as the absence of clearly defined methodological guidelines, the contract incorporated a one-year design period. For the first three months of the design year, in addition to completing organizational tasks and staffing, the team gave extensive consideration to the use of discrete quantitative studies coordinated through the design team and ultimately interpreted by them in relation to the objectives of the project. This approach was gradually abandoned as exhaustive reviews of the literature made it increasingly apparent that neither the studies already completed nor those likely to be undertaken during the life of the project would yield the kinds of insights that were desired. The decision to abandon discrete inquiries in favor of an integrated analysis using ethnographic methodology as the controlling strategy was not implemented in an irrevocable sense until most of the design year had elapsed..

The Team first entered the field in February of 1979. By then Oakwood had been selected as the tentative research site although its final approval had been delayed pending the observations of Team members concerning the presence of elements of interest to the study and the willingness of Oakwood administrators and faculty to provide the necessary cooperation. Prior to entering the field, the theoretical design of the research and the review of the literature were largely completed.

In retrospect, the field design phase of the research which occupied the period March 1979 through May 1979 could not have been carried forward without the advantage of the field experiences of team members. During the theoretical design phase issues such as theoretical versus random sampling, the relative emphasis to be given to quantitative studies and the division of responsibilities furnished the grist for seemingly endless hours of discussion. Many theoretical issues vanished abruptly when Team members began data collection at Oakwood and realized the nature of the research required researchers to adapt themselves to the setting rather than to try to adapt the setting to the demands of particular types of inquiry.

The first major period of data collection began in August of 1979 and continued throughout the academic year. Between May and August, the conceptual framework and the research design were reduced to writing and pilot tested in the field setting. The open-systems approach and the use of an evolving design produced fine tuning during the 1979-80 academic year as important issues emerged from analysis of the research data or as problems developed in the nature of the results being achieved. By late Spring, 1980, significant progress had occurred in coding and reporting descriptive data of interest to the project. Simultaneously the accumulation of large quantities of descriptive data underscored the need for beginning analysis of its theoretical implications.

Summer of 1980 marked the first major effort to reduce the reports prepared from fieldnotes into a preliminary report of project findings and implications. The chapters of the preliminary report became a basic analytical tool for the research team during the fall of 1980. This preliminary stage of data reduction and analysis overlapped the final semester of field observation. The Spring of 1981 was used to continue the analysis and to integrate the additional data collected during the preceding fall. Concurrently with the continuing analysis, specific field studies were designed and implemented to answer questions emerging from the analysis or to validate tentative conclusions.

By the summer of 1981, data collection and analysis was essentially complete. The last six months of the project were occupied in preparing the final report.

Data Collection Methods

The multimethodological, iterative nature of our research is illustrated in Figure 2.1. Data collected through open-ended fieldwork techniques, and the more structured procedures of task analysis and materials analysis were coordinated in a way that led to the mutual influence among these three procedures and to the identification of the need for more focused "distilled" studies as the research progressed.

Fieldwork Techniques[1]

We made use of participant observation, nonparticipant observation, key informant interviewing, documents analysis, and structured and unstructured interviews, questionnaires and surveys[1] (Pelto, 1978). Each of these techniques is briefly discussed below.

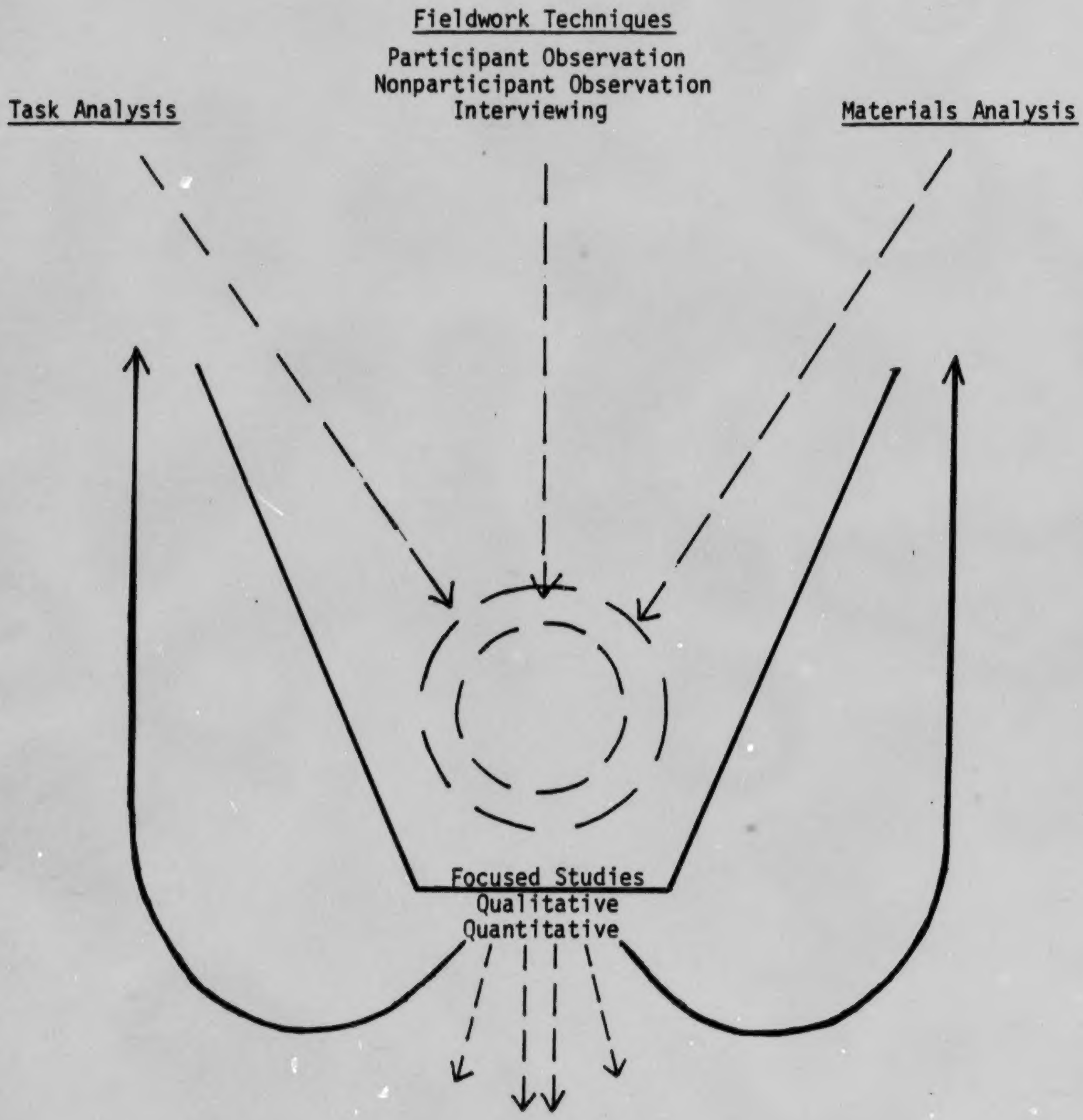
Participant observation allows the observer to be a part of the daily life of the people under study, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people over some length of time. The firsthand experience is one of its chief advantages. It provides the researcher with the opportunity to take part in the ordinary activities of the group. This is necessary to get the "insider"s or "emic" view of the social situation. Many researchers believe that no amount of interviewing or the use of any other technique of data collection would provide the same insights obtained from participant observations (Becker & Geer, 1960).

Participant observation (as well as most other observation) is advantageous for collecting data on behavior, in its natural environment, as it occurs, over a long period of time (Spradley, 1980). The preliminary data generated from participant observation provided contextual insights on how to develop interviews, surveys and additional observations. It also provided the necessary monitoring of field information to interpret and evaluate data gathered by specialized techniques (Pelto & Pelto, 1978).

Our fieldnotes contained a day-to-day account of what occurred. Attention was paid to what was happening, when it happened, who was

Figure 2.1

A Multimethodogical Research Approach


Fieldwork Techniques
Participant Observation
Nonparticipant Observation
Interviewing
Task Analysis
Materials Analysis
Focused Studies
Qualitative
Quantitative

involved, what was being said, who was saying it and to whom, and what changes were occurring. Fieldnotes included: 1) running descriptions; 2) previously forgotten happenings recalled; 3) analytical ideas; 4) personal impressions; and 5) notes for further information or questions (Loftland 1971).

Nonparticipant observation refers to any setting where the researcher does not act as part of the events he/she is observing (Manheim & Simon, 1977). Examples of this method in operation included overhearing a conversation, counting the number of visitors to an office and observing someone perform a task. Serving as a participant observer increased the opportunity for the use of this method. At times, it was difficult to categorize a situation as participant or nonparticipant observation.

As with participant observation, fieldnotes were kept. The difference was primarily a function of the lack of interaction. Care was taken in separating observation from interpretation; but both were recorded. Webb et al (1966) have referred to this technique as unobtrusive measures.

The use of interviewing was indispensible in providing multiple emic perspectives and for recovering information that had ceased to exist, or had been sharply modified, by the time an observer arrived on the scene (Pelto & Pelto, 1978). It was used as a technique for identifying how things came to be in the historical sense. The accounts of key informants served to augment data collected via other methods, especially participant observation and documents analysis. As Pelto and Pelto (1978) note:

> Key informant interviewing is used to best advantage when it is closely integrated with participant observation (p. 74).

In a similar way, participant observation was essential for checking and evaluating key informant data.

Documents analysis allowed researchers to examine topics which were not physically accessible (Bailey, 1978). This was especially true in the construction of historical perspective. Persons actively involved in previous events were no longer alive or no longer associated with the District. This type of data often became the only available link to the past.

In addition, document analysis was extremely well suited for our longitudinal studies (Bailey, 1977), reflecting the heavily print oriented, formalized, record keeping organizations of which a public community college district is an example (Hage, 1980).

Participant observation and interviews have generally formed the core of qualitative research. Taken by themselves, these methods have exposed anthropology to some serious criticisms related to: quantification, representativeness, specificity of research procedures and comparability (Pelto & Pelto, 1978). Structured interviews and questionnaires have been used in recent research to offset, partially, these criticisms. These techniques served as cross-checks of observation and interview data. "The alert field worker will ... test all data with as many different kinds of validity checks as possible" (Pelto & Pelto, 1978, p. 79). These quantification techniques were strengthened on the basis of contextual insights gleaned from the fieldnotes of observation and key informant interviewing.

Task Analysis

Research on the conditions of learning and studies of the wide variety of models and methods of teaching have suggested the need for systematic procedures for the design of instruction. A number of specific procedures for "instructional systems design" have been suggested (Gagne, 1977; Dick & Carey, 1978; Klein, 1971; Briggs, 1977) for use by instructors in designing a course or unit of instruction. In the present study they were modified to identify the specific tasks students must complete. This identification was done through a series of structured interviews with instructors, the results of which were compared with classroom observations and materials analysis.

A review of previous literacy studies illustrated the value of such procedures. Skellings (1977) provided examples of college "administrative tasks" requiring literacy skills that were identified through interviewing. The study of Albertown (Hall & Carlton, 1977), by describing the contrasting perceptions of faculty and students, showed the importance of interviewing all groups participating in the setting being studied. This study and those described by Sticht (1975) suggested the importance of observing the setting as well as interviewing. Sticht's studies also provided examples of the additional information that can be obtained by analyzing materials.

The task analysis was designed to satisfy three major project goals. First, it was used to identify course objectives of the developmental, transfer and occupational classes under study. Second, it was used to identify instructional activities used by the instructors teaching these classes. Finally, it was used to determine instructor's perceptions of the importance of basic skills vis-a-vis their activities and assessment devices.

The task analysis resulted in several products including a list of course objectives, a list of classroom activities, a list of corresponding assessment procedures, and the completed skill sheets on basic literacy demands. This data was analyzed partially through the application of Benjamin Bloom's taxonomy which divides objectives into three major categories: cognitive, affective and psychomotor (Krathwohl, 1969; Harrow, 1972; Bloom, 1969).

Materials Analysis

We assumed that in a postsecondary environment, written text would be indigenous to the setting and would serve as an important medium for communication. Written media was therefore an important focus of analysis and representative materials were analyzed to determine their relative level of difficulty. Quantitatively-based research techniques, were used 1) to determine the central tendency and variability in difficulty levels of text materials (from which demands on global reading competency could be inferred, and 2) to describe features of text and text format/design which generally impact on comprehensibility, and facilitate or inhibit understanding. Specific methods employed were derived from readability research (Vaughn, 1976; Bradley & Ames, 1977), and studies in text analysis (Frederiksen, 1975; Kintch & Vipond, in press; Moe, 1979) and learning from prose (Faw & Waller, 1976; Meyer, 1977; Vacca, 1978).

As critical materials were identified, it became apparent that print media varied radically in graphic display features. Two generic categories of written text emerged; the discriminate attributes of the categories influenced subsequent analysis. The first category consisted of conventional connected discourse, such as classroom textbooks and the college catalog. Considering the implications drawn from Klare's synthesis of related research (1974-75) and MacDonald-Ross' subsequent interpretative review (1979), readability estimates were calculated to determine the relative difficulty level of these connected discourse-type documents. Specific readability procedures employed were based upon the work of Fry (1977) and McLaughlin (1969). Features of text and formal design known to impact on text processing were also cataloged in detail (Thomas, 1980).

The second generic category consisted of truncated versions of graphic language representation. Various application forms and checklists used at the college were the modal documents in this category. These documents were evaluated for clarity of understanding using an adaptation and extension of Abbass' (1976) original work of quantifying certain linguistic features of application forms. The procedure utilized a measure of information density based upon syntactic compression. (See Methodological Appendix: Student Services.)

The information derived from these analyses were subsequently integrated with data from various field work techniques and task analysis interviews to develop a holistic picture of the role and function of print materials. In turn, this view provided an understanding which included the following interactive properties:

1) Under what conditions students engage written text as a means of accessing information.

2) What information students choose to access through written text and why.

3) How various features of text may influence student decisions on the use of written materials.

The resulting integration of multiple perspectives culminated in a secondary analysis of classroom materials which focused on the suitability of textbooks for various types of functional reading operations (see Chapter 6 and the Methodological Appendix: Instructional Component).

Components of the Research Effort

The research activities, using the multiple methods described above, were organized within three coordinated components: instruction, student services and administration reflecting our conceptualization of the Richfield College District as presented in Figure 2.1 (Richardson et al, 1973).

The administrative component focused on the administrative sphere and its impact on other facets of the institution. The student services component focused on the students and the support services which were designed to facilitate their college experience. Finally, the instructional component focused on the classroom interaction of faculty and students. An overview of each of the studies is provided below. More detailed information can be found in the methodological appendices which have been included for each study.

Administrative Study

To understand the role of administrative structure and process in the Richfield District and its impact on literacy, five coordinated studies were undertaken. Table 2.1 identifies the data bases resulting from these studies as well as providing information about timelines, methods, data sources and types. The studies included: District Office, Oakwood Administration, Curriculum Committee, Oakwood Faculty and the Quantitative Studies.

A participant observer served as an administrative intern to the Chancellor of the Richfield District for an average of 20 hours per week for the 18 months of the District Office study. Access was provided to all meetings including those of the governing board and of the executive council, the key administrative decision-making body in the District. While taping of meetings was not permitted, extensive notes were kept from which fieldnotes and summary reports were prepared. Document analysis, structured interviews and unobtrusive measures were used to supplement and validate data from observations.[2]

The study of Oakwood Administration was completed by a second participant observer who spent at least the equivalent of one day each week for two years on site. All policy level meetings were attended in addition to selected meetings of coordinating councils and committees. Observations were supplemented by interviews with key administrators,

Table 2.1

The Source and Nature of Data Bases

Data Bases: Perspectives	Time	Methods	Data Sources	Nature of Data	Data Type
I. District Office	18 months Sept. 1979-Feb. 1981	.participant observation* .key informant .interviewing .structured interviews .document analysis .unobtrusive measures	.meetings .individuals .documents .newspaper articles .publications	.fieldnotes .journal notes .memos .documents log .tapes .summary reports .publications .interviews .research memos	Qualitative
II. College Adminis-tration	2 years March 1979-Feb. 1981	.non-participant observation .key informant interviews* .structured interviews .documents analysis .unobtrusive measures	.meetings .individuals .documents .publications	.fieldnotes .memos .documents .summary reports .publications .interviews .research memos	Qualitative
III. District Curriculum Committee	5 months Sept. 1980-Jan. 1981	.participant observation* .documents analysis	.meetings .individuals .documents	.fieldnotes .documents	Qualitative

* Primary method of data collection

Table 2.1
(Continued)

The Source and Nature of Data Bases

Data Bases: Perspectives	Time	Methods	Data Sources	Nature of Data	Data Type
IV. College Faculty	5 months Jan. 1980-May 1980	.non-participant observation .key informant interviewing* .documents analysis .structured interviews	.meetings .individuals .documents	.fieldnotes .journal notes .interviews .documents .summary report .interview reports	Qualitative
V. Discrete Quantitative Studies:					
.Attitudes Survey	Nov. 1980-Feb. 1981	.survey	.survey responses	.survey responses .computer tapes	Quantitative
.Communication Network	Nov. 1980-Feb. 1981	.survey	.survey responses	.survey responses .computer tapes	
.Resource Allocation	Sept. 1980-June 1981	.documents analysis	.budgets/reports .fiscal records	.documents	

* Primary method of data collection

chairs of departments in which classes were observed and representative faculty in areas closely related to our concerns about literacy (math, English and reading). Participant observers from the college and district studies met weekly to compare notes.

A third participant observer, assigned as an intern in the District Office, conducted the Curriculum Committee study. The decision to concentrate a special effort in this area was made relatively late in the study when it became apparent that this group was an important influence on educational issues and had not received sufficient attention from either of the other two studies. Methods paralleled those of the other observational administrative studies.[3]

The study of Oakwood College and Richfield District was carried out during a period of significant change marked by tension and sometimes open conflict between faculty and administrators. Because participant observers were quickly identified with the groups they observed, it was not possible for the observers in the three studies described above to obtain unbiased data from faculty. To overcome this obstacle, an anthropologist not associated with the administrative studies, became a participant observer of the Oakwood faculty for a period of one semester. Fifty-six faculty were observed or interviewed representing a cross section of the institution but concentrating on those who were most active politically. Sixteen of the 24 departments were represented.

Observations of faculty in natural settings included lunch in the faculty dining room, committee meetings, faculty offices and office buildings, and off campus lunches with key informants. Unobtrusive measures included casual observations, attendance at social events, hall conversations and parking lot counts. Document analysis made use of the minutes of the Faculty Senate, the faculty bulletin, District office newsletters/bulletins and the College newspaper. Finally, open-ended, indepth interviewing was employed with faculty in formal leadership positions, those identified by their peers as opinion leaders and chairs of faculty committees.[4]

Based upon issues generated from the field studies described above, as well as a review of the research literature, an instrument was designed to survey faculty attitudes toward institutional objectives as these were defined by key administrators. Faculty and administrators were asked to respond on a five point Likert scale, indicating their level of agreement with the objectives, their willingness to support the objectives and their perceptions of progress toward achieving objectives. Respondents were also asked to indicate the administrative behaviors observed in attempts to implement the objectives as well as their level of participation in District and College meetings and committees. Demographic data on participants was obtained from the District Personnel office. The surveys identified respondents in order to facilitate a communication network analysis that was administered in conjunction with the attitude survey.[5]

In addition to the attitude survey, a study of planning and resource allocation was completed to examine the constant dollars available over a five-year period to educate each FTE student as well as the relative distribution of such resources among major categories of institutional expenditures. The results of this study confirmed the stability of resources when related to numbers of students served while simultaneously indicating shifts in percentage allocations among major categories.[6]

Student Services Study

Understanding the functions and uses of literacy on the college campus apart from instructional classrooms was the primary goal of the student services study. This goal embraced several coordinated research efforts: 1) studying the role of support services as an interface between students and campus literacy events, 2) studying the administratively required literacy tasks imposed on all students entering the institution,

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and 3) developing a holistic perspective of student movement through the institution which would typify how institutional requirements and use of support services affect "being a student" at the college.

In general, research conducted by the student services team was multimethodological, relying heavily upon structured and unstructured interviews, participant observation, and materials analysis. Each of the three major efforts, however, also required more focused research strategies. The role of student services included discrete studies of several specific support services, as well as significant life events which influence students' use of services. Likewise, studying administratively imposed literacy tasks led to more focused research on the processes of admissions, registration, and advisement. Developing the holistic perspective, the third major effort, necessitated gathering collegiate life-histories through indepth interviews with students. The data bases relevant to these major efforts are summarized in Table 2.2 along with timelines, data sources and purposes. How methods and studies were coordinated for each effort are developed subsequently.

The Role of Support Services

A major focus of the students services research was to obtain the perspectives of staff, students, and faculty on the role of support services in facilitating or impeding student access and adaptation. In each case, structured interviews were the primary technique used to obtain these perspectives.

Staff interviews were conducted first, following preliminary interviews with directors of services and participant observations of the campus. There were two major purposes for these interviews; obtaining staff perceptions of the purpose and student use of respective services, and identifying materials distributed by the services and common problems experienced with these materials. An eight page, 40 question interview schedule was developed and all professional and clerical staff and work study students employed in all of the student services were interviewed.

A structured interview schedule for students was developed following the analysis of the data from staff and a preliminary analysis of key college documents. The major purposes of these interviews included: obtaining information on students' perceptions of, use of, and satisfaction with services; evaluating the use of and satisfaction with selected college documents; and determining student use of campus resources in adapting to college. The 65-item schedule was used with two groups of students; students involved in student clubs and organizations, and students available and willing to talk with interviewers during a break on campus.

To obtain their perceptions on student services, faculty interviews were conducted toward the end of the study. Previous findings were used to shape and limit the interview schedule. Interviews were conducted with faculty who had been identified by staff in more than one service as someone who frequently referred students to support services. Results were compared with similar questions asked of randomly selected faculty interviewed by the instructional research team.

To complement interview data, participant observers initially assumed the role of new students at the college and went through a series of tasks designed to provide the student perspective on how services are located, accessed, and used. Indepth participant observations also served as a primary research method in studying three specific support services. The Learning Assistance Center (LAC) was identified as a critical service in assisting students in adjusting to academic requirements as it provided the major tutoring service for the campus. One researcher[7] spent a semester as a tutor in this service. While in this role, he tutored three students, observed the interaction of tutors and tutees, interviewed staff, and distributed a brief questionnaire to tutors and tutees regarding the tutorial process.

Table 2.2

Description of Data Bases for Student Services Component

Data Bases	Time	Data Sources	Nature of Data	Purpose
Interviews with Student Services Staff	Spring 1979-Spring 1980	.Meetings with Directors .Structured interviews, with all professional and clerical staff .Interviews with work-study students .Meetings with Dean of Students	.Summarizations of Interview Schedules .Comments from staff and interviews .Fieldnotes	.Obtain description of purpose of and process of using services .Identify college materials and staff perceptions of operations required for use
Participant Observations	Spring 1979-Fall 1980	.Observations of total campus .Observations of accessing services .Indepth observations of LAC, Chicano Services and Special Services	.Raw and coded fieldnotes .College documents .Unobtrusive measures (Bulletin boards, signs, traffic patterns)	.Identify procedures and assistance in accessing services .Identify college documents
Significant Life Events Study	Fall 1979-Spring 1980	.Preliminary interviews with students, staff and faculty .Questionnaire returns from 325 students in developmental, transfer and occupational classes .Interviews with Spanish speaking developmental students	.Tallies of preliminary interview information .Computer printouts	.Obtain information on student use of and satisfaction with services .Obtain information on students and their feelings about college

Table 2.2
(Continued)

Description of Data Bases for Student Services Component

Data Bases	Time	Data Sources	Nature of Data	Purpose
Student Interviews	Fall 1980-Spring 1981	.Structured Interviews with students in clubs and organizations and with students on campus (in the Student Union and other key locations)	.Summaries of Interview Schedules	.Obtain information on student adaptation to campus .Obtain information on student use of and satisfaction with services .Obtain information on student use of college materials
Student Life Histories	Spring 1981	.Indepth interviews with five students	.Interview transcripts .Summary report of interviews	.Obtain indepth information on student adaptation to campus
Materials Analysis	Spring 1979-Spring 1981	.College documents and forms identified as important by staff and students	.Readability estimates using Fry and SMOG indices .Analysis of format and design features .Information Density Index for analysis of forms .Analysis of staff and student comments on difficulties and errors in using college documents	.Identify reading, and writing tasks required to use major college documents

Table 2.2
(Continued)

Description of Data Bases for Student Services Component

Data Bases	Time	Data Sources	Nature of Data	Purpose
Interviews with Faculty	Spring 1981	.Interviews with faculty who were identified as high referrers to student services .Semi-structured interviews of modified random sample of faculty conducted by instructional component	.Interview schedules .Comments from faculty and interviewer .Instructional component interview protocols	.Obtain faculty perceptions of student services and of major campus events such as advisement and orientation
Orientation Study	Spring 1981	.Interviews with faculty, counselors and administrators with major interest in or responsibility for orientation .Interviews w/students in counseling class	.Composite report summarizing findings .Comments from interviewees and interviewer	.Obtain background information and different perceptions on history, current status of, and need for orientation
Advisement and Registration Study	Spring 1979 Fall 1980	.Participant observations of registration .Participant observations of Registration and Advisement Committee .Informal interviews with committee chair .Structured interviews with committee members and chair	.Fieldnotes .Participant Observer Report .Interviewer Report .College Documents .Faculty, staff and interviewers' comments	.Purpose changed over time from an initial interest in describing the registration process to developing an indepth understanding of the participants' concerns with academic advisement

The Financial Aids Office[8] and Chicano Services[9] were also identified as services which either created administrative requirements or assisted students with such requirements. A participant observer was assigned to each of these services and observed staff in the office, attended some of the specific scheduled events and interviewed professional clerical and work study staff. Their observations provided an indepth account of the activities of the service and of the assistance provided to students in adapting to the college.

An additional data base was provided by *significant life events* research, a discrete quantitative study directed toward determining the pattern of utilization and satisfaction with student services.[10] This study included: a significant life events schedule, a measure of informal support networks including friends and family support, and measures of student perceptions of their use and effect of helping resources, satisfaction with the support, feelings about college, and a personal concerns scale. Special studies were also conducted of orientation[11] and registration and advisement.[12]

Instructional Study

The instructional study was designed to yield a description and interpretation of literacy in classroom settings at Oakwood. The emphasis was on collecting data representing multiple perspectives and multiple sources. Data collection techniques included fieldwork, task analysis, and materials analysis as well as selected use of structured survey instruments.

Twenty-seven classes were selected for study. Table 2.3 summarizes this theoretical sample which included the three program areas: developmental, transfer and occupational; as well as examples at three levels of course work (200, 100 and below 100). Because only one night course was studied, our findings are limited to a description of the day time instructional program at Oakwood (see Methodological Appendix: Instructional Component, for a more detailed description of the selection of courses for study).

A change in local conditions provided an opportunity to study a 'natural experiment.' In the fall of 1979, two "block" programs for coordinated basic skills courses were created in Developmental Studies. We decided to take advantage of this situation by committing the bulk of our resources during one semester to analyzing classes in Developmental Studies in general and in these two blocks in particular.

For each course studied, task analysis and materials analysis furnished information on characteristics of the learning environment and the printed matter associated with it. Participant observation, supplemented by interviews, provided data on learner objectives and adaptation strategies in the classroom setting. The close relationship between the instructional component and the student services component made available to both areas data gathered about attitudes, values and perceptions of the learner.

Under the umbrella of fieldwork, we also used several other data collection techniques. Foremost among these were document analysis (e.g. course syllabi) and unobtrusive measures (e.g. reselling of books to bookstore, noting students who drop classes). In addition, we did a considerable amount of interviewing of faculty and surveying of students *outside* of the classes we observed, during the second and third wave of data collection.

The Student Characteristics Questionnaire provided basic demographic data on students taking courses we observed as well as data used to test hypotheses about student objectives. The Class Activities Questionnaire was designed to test hypotheses formulated about the types of activities students engage in and the role that basic skills play in task accomplishment. This latter questionnaire was administered to classes being taught by faculty who were also interviewed concerning the *same* topics with an eye toward comparison of student-teacher perceptions.

Table 2.3

Classes Observed by Semester, Level and Program.[c]

Semester Field-work was done	Occupational		Transfer		Developmental (Below 100)
	100	200	100	200	
Fall 1979	Automotive Carburetion & Fuel Systems[d] Survey of Electronics		History of Western Civilization General Psychology		Language Skills Developmental Arithmetic
Spring 1980			College Algebra Analytical Geometry and Calculus I[b] English Composition[b]		Freshman English Review/Freshman English I.[a] Reading English as a Second Language Developmental Arithmetic (Block I) Adult Basic Reading Skills (Block I) Adult Basic Reading Skills (Block II) Intensive ESL for Spanish Speakers[b] (2) Orientation for Student Development (Block I) Orientation for Student Development (Block II) Adult Basic English (Block II)

Table 2.3
(Continued)

Classes Observed by Semester, Level and Program.[c]

Semester Fieldwork was done	Occupational		Transfer		Developmental (Below 100)
	100	200	100	200	
Fall 1980	Nutrition	General Microbiology[d] Business Statistics Office Machines[d]	Freshman English II U.S. History	Principles of Economics Experimental[d] Psychology	

[a] This course involved a combination of a review of high school grammar and the mechanics of writing and Freshman Composition I. Students received two pre-100 level credits for the former and three transfer credits for the latter. Students must complete Freshman Composition I to be eligible for an AA degree.

[b] During the spring 1980, we observed in a total of 13 classes. Three of these classes were added right before the semester began to facilitate inter-class comparisons. For example, Freshman Composition I was added as a sister class to Freshman English Review/Freshman English (same instructor). In a similar vein, Analytical Geometry and Calculus I was added as a sister class to College Algebra (same instructor) and a second section of Intensive ESL for Spanish Speakers was added (different instructors, same content). Because of time constraints, the instructional design interviewer conducted only ten sets of interviews, excluding the three classes added prior to the start of the spring 1980 semester.

[c] We did a pilot course in the spring 1979. This course was Introduction to Business.

[d] Lab course or course was conducted like a lab.

The techniques used to collect data over the duration of the project are summarized in Table 2.4. Together, they provide an encapsulated perspective on the development of our techniques for implementing the field study of literacy in the classroom. The analysis process used in the instructional component is outlined in its Methodological Appendix.

Data Analysis

As previously noted, the research process was interactive and cyclic. Data collection and analysis were carried out simultaneously where the analysis led to reforming research questions and to directing future data collection methods (Becker, 1969, 1970). This is consistent with both ethnographic methodology and grounded theory (Spradley, 1979; Glaser & Strauss, 1968; Glaser, 1978).

Grounded theory provided the conceptual framework for generation of hypotheses (as opposed to hypothesis testing). In this study, the works of Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Glaser (1978) provided the basis for techniques of data collection and analysis.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest a method for analyzing qualitative data which they refer to as the constant comparative method. This method has four stages: 1) comparing incidents applicable to each category, 2) integrating categories and their properties, 3) delimiting the theory, and 4) writing the theory. "Although this method of generating theory is a continuously growing process - each stage after a time is transformed into the next - earlier stages do remain in operation simultaneously throughout the analysis and each provides continuous development to its successive stage until the analysis is terminated" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 105).

The constant comparative method can be used jointly with theoretical sampling, whether to collect new data or on previously collected or compiled qualitative data.

Glaser (1978) no longer refers to the constant comparative method, but the process described is very similar with some added steps and greater detail.

> The detailed, conceptual grounded route from data collection to a finished writing is a process composed of a set of double-back steps. As one moves forward, one constantly goes back to previous steps. As we have improved our formulations of the method, these steps have grown. The steps, as now formulated, are collection of research data, open coding of the data soon after, theoretical sampling, generating memos with as much saturation as possible and emergence of core social psychological problems and processes, which then become the basis for more selective theoretical sampling, coding and memoing as the analyst focuses on the core ... As the saturation of memos begins to occur ... the analyst turns to sorting. Memos are sorted into theoretical frameworks, by analytical rules, ... (p. 16)

In both processes, reference is made to theoretical sampling as "the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop this theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory, whether substantive or formal".

The general procedure of theoretical sampling is to apply constant comparative analysis as the data are collected in order to elicit codes from the raw data. These codes are then used to direct further data collection. With subsequent data collection, the original codes may be modified and collection is redirected. Theoretical sampling on a code

Table 2.4

Description of Data Base for Instructional Study

Techniques	Data Source	Nature of Data	Topic(s)	Purpose
Participant Observation of classes	All classes we observed (theoretical sampling)	Raw and coded fieldnotes: Unobtrusive measures (maps, course handouts)	Objectives, resources, activities, interaction, time, social, organization, physical setting, operations, demographic, characteristics, styles, outcomes, adaptation	Develop thick description of literacy in the classroom within a demands framework.[a]
Instructional Design Interviews	All faculty teaching classes we observed	Raw and coded fieldnotes; course syllabi; list of objectives; classification by domain and level; activities and assessment devices used to cover objectives; rating of basic skills as primary, using skill sheets	Objectives activities assessment modes operations adaptations ideal class	Obtain instructors' perceptions of which basic skills were needed to complete the course; establish type and level of instructors' objective, identifying activities and assessment modes used to cover the objectives. Ascertain discrepancies between the actual and ideal instructional situation

Table 2.4
(Continued)

Description of Data Base for Instructional Study

Techniques	Data Source	Nature of Data	Topic(s)	Purpose
Pilot Interviews	Classes we observed in Fall 1979 (theoretical sampling)	Tallies on interview protocol sheets. Remarks by interviews and students	Objectives, resources, activities, operations methods, demographic, characteristics, outcomes	Gain experience in interviews; pilot questions; supplement observational data.
Structured Interviews	Classes we observed in Spring 1980 (theoretical sampling)	Tallies on interview protocol sheets; computer tapes; remarks by interviewers and students	Objectives, resources, activities, demographic, characteristics, outcomes, ideal class	Obtain students' perspective; triangulate with data from instructional design interviews; profile types of classes
Dynamic Interviews	Classes we observed in Fall 1980	Raw and coded notes; transcripts; interviewer and student networks	Objectives, in-class events, out-of-class events, social, organization, physical setting, operations, demographic, characteristics, instructor style	Obtain indepth emic information from students about their perspective or literacy and the operations

Table 2.4
(Continued)

Description of Data Base for Instructional Study

Techniques	Data Source	Nature of Data	Topic(s)	Purpose
Semi-Structured Interviews	Modified random sample of faculty	Raw and coded interview protocols. Comments by interviewers and faculty	Objectives, activities, operations, instructor style, ideal situation, types of students, use of student services	Generalize findings from the instructional design interviews and faculty ethnography; compare instructor perceptions
Faculty Ethnography	Theoretical sampling of faculty	Unobtrusive measures semi-structured; interview protocols, raw and coded interviewer and faculty remarks	Objectives, resources, activities, demands, student diversity, adaptation, outcomes	Obtain faculty perceptions of institution, students, literacy-related issues and charges; provide data base for survey instrument development which was undertaken by administrative component
Materials Analysis	Selected printed matter from classes we observed (theoretical sampling)	Readability estimates using Fry formula ratings of printed matter; ratings of format features in-text aids and adjunct aids/materials; ratings of clarity, accessability; directionality	Printed materials used by students	Evaluate test materials along several dimensions including readability format and stylistic features and suitability for different types of reading

Table 2.4
(Continued)

Description of Data Base for Instructional Study

Techniques	Data Source	Nature of Data	Topic(s)	Purpose
Student Characteristics Questionnaire	Classes we observed in Fall 1980 (theoretical sampling)	Tallies on questionnaires; computer tape	Objectives, demographic characteristics, use of student services	Determine demographic characteristics of students; confirm findings on student motivation
Student Classroom Activities Questionnaire	Students being/ taught by subset of faculty who participated in semi-structured interviews	Tallies on questionnaires; computer tape	Objective, activities, operations, instructor style; ideal situation	Confirm findings from participant observation and interview data; compare student and instructor perceptions of objectives, activities and operations

a The demands framework which initially guided the study was later abandoned.

At times, we referred to reading (and other forms of communication) as a basic skill in our current view, reading (and other forms of communication) are referred to as operations.

ceases when saturation is achieved. The initial decisions are based on a general perspective instead of on preconceived hypotheses.

Coding fractures or rearranges the data, thus allowing the analyst to move beyond the empirical level. The codes identify the underlying patterns in the empirical data. Early coding usually focuses on generating a set of emerging categories which fit, work and are relevant for the data. Glaser (1978) suggests that an analyst should ask three questions during this early coding: 1) What is this data a study of?; 2) What category does this incident indicate?; and 3) What is really happening in the data? In this way, sensitivity to data and purpose is maintained.

Later coding involves selective search for a core variable that has emerged as a result of the successive (and previous) coding and data collection. Selective coding involves limiting coding to those variables that relate to the core variable in significant ways. The core variable becomes a guide to further data collection and theoretical sampling. Research memos and observer comments were included with fieldnotes. These memos and comments were reflective and sought to draw attention to important points.

The following chapters present the results of this data analysis.

ENDNOTES

1. For discussion of fieldwork techniques, see Pelto & Pelto, pp. 54-66. Also refer to earlier discussion in Chapter I.

2. The descriptions of District structure and process were developed by Richard T. Walsh who served as the participant observer for the District study. An elaboration of his findings will be available in his dissertation currently nearing completion.

3. The Curriculum Committee study was carried out by Donald Doucette, doctoral candidate in Higher and Adult Education, Arizona State University.

4. The faculty ethnography was developed by Betsy Brandt, associate professor of Anthropology at Arizona State University.

5. A copy of the survey and additional information about its administration and scoring appears in the Methodological Appendix: Administration. Jean Stengel, doctoral candidate, Department of Higher and Adult Education, Arizona State University, made important contributions to analysis of the survey data. Assistance in development of the survey as well as design of the communication network analysis instrument was provided by Rolf Wigand, associate professor of Communication at Arizona State University.

6. The resource allocation study was completed by John Porter, doctoral candidate in the Department of Higher and Adult Education, Arizona State University.

7. The LAC study was designed and conducted by Morris Okun, associate professor, Department of Higher and Adult Education, Arizona State University.

8. Observations of the Financial Aids office were conducted by Linda Watts, doctoral student, Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University.

9. Observations of Chicano Services were conducted by Ernie Lara, doctoral candidate, Department of Higher and Adult Education, Arizona State University.

10. This study was designed by Irwin Sandler, Department of Psychology, Arizona State University and conducted with the assistance of Donald Bauman, faculty research associate, College of Education, Arizona State University.

11. The study of orientation was designed and conducted by Monica Lowe, doctoral student, Department of Higher and Adult Education, Arizona State University.

12. Two separate studies were conducted on registration and advisement. The first was developed by Betsy Brandt, associate professor of Anthropology at Arizona State University, with the assistance of Penelope Denton, doctoral candidate, Department of Elementary Education, Arizona State University. The follow-up study, a year later was designed by Virginia Stahl, doctoral student, Department of Higher and Adult Education, Arizona State University.

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CHAPTER III

RICHFIELD COLLEGE DISTRICT

Administrative structure and process facilitate or impede institutional adaptation to changing environmental conditions and new clientele. Through selectively screening external influences, administrators decide what the priorities of the institution should be. By selecting priorities, allocating resources and the use of other strategies including the control of information, administrators endeavor to shape internal responses toward desired goals. To the extent that goals sought by administrators are inconsistent or in competition with the values held by other institutional participants, conflict occurs. The selection of priorities, the choice of strategies for pursuing them and the management of any resulting conflict have important consequences for literacy and the teaching and learning process.

Administrators must secure the support and assistance of teaching faculty and student affairs staff if priorities are to be translated into programs and services that impact on literacy and student learning. The willingness of faculty and other staff to support administrative priorities and to assist in their implementation thus becomes a key variable in evaluating the impact of administrative behavior on literacy, institutional adaptation and the learning process.

Complicating the task of administrators in selecting appropriate strategies to encourage faculty support for their priorities is the multi-directional nature of systemic influences. The administrative decision to respond to some external influences such as a declining pool of traditional applicants, or the constraints of a funding formula oriented toward full time traditional students, is simultaneously the decision to ignore other influences such as legislative concerns about uncontrolled expansion. Through the process of establishing priorities administrative leaders not only respond to the external environment, they help to create it (March, 1980, p. 24). Concurrently, conflicts involving internal constituents spill over into the public arena distorting communications from formal leaders and causing problems of credibility and image.

This chapter and the next describe the results of several studies of administrative structure and process carried out concurrently in the Richfield District, a large, urban, multi-campus community college located in Western United States and one of its major colleges, Oakwood. These two chapters have been organized to provide a description of decision-making processes, administrative priorities, strategies for achieving priorities, and administrative and faculty commitment as major variables in determining the context within which literacy functions in the community college setting. Our intent has been to set the stage for the descriptions of support services and learning environments which follow by identifying the impact of administrative behaviors on institutional adaptation and the constraints they establish for the learning process.

Richfield District

Richfield was established in 1962 as a result of popular election following enabling state legislation. At the time of its founding, the District assumed responsibility for a preexisting college that had been administered by a local high school district. In a very real sense, Richfield was a descendant of the original community/junior college movement, developing from the same roots that gave rise to Joliet Junior College in 1901.

In order to improve service to the expanding population of the District, extension centers were created under the administration of the original college. The subsequent growth of these centers prompted the establishment, in 1965, of two new independent colleges, one of which became Oakwood.

In 1968, an additional college was added to offer as its main purpose a large selection of occupational and technical programs. This event marked the emergence of occupational/technical education as a major function of the District. During the 1970's, the District continued to grow. In 1978, the Board approved the establishment of a sixth college. This nontraditional college "without walls", serving the entire District, met with great opposition from faculty and many college administrators. A final traditional college, geographically situated to serve the District's large Hispanic population, opened its door for the first time in Fall, 1980.

In little more than fifteen years Richfield grew from a single college enrolling 8,900 students to a seven college District enrolling almost 60,000 students in credit programs. By 1980-81, Richfield employed some 1,500 full time staff members of which 740 were faculty and 220 were administrators. The remainder worked in such areas as office support, maintenance and food services. In addition, the District employed a large and growing number of part time faculty as has been the trend among institutions of its type.

The growth in colleges, students and personnel brought with it a level of complexity which was accommodated by greater standardization and formalization in most areas of operation. In the last years of the seventies, students were characterized by an increasing diversification of objectives, interests, ethnic backgrounds and abilities. As in most community colleges, the 18-22 year old traditional college student came to be in the minority. By the time this study began, seventy percent of the student body were part-time and the modal student was female, taking one course, attending in the evening and not interested in earning an associate degree.

In 1970, the state system to which Richfield belonged had established a funding formula designed to allocate operating costs so that fifty percent was paid by the state with the remainder distributed between local taxes and the Federal government. Students paid fees to support non-instructional activities but the institutions were tuition-free. The allocation of state funds was based on a formula using full time student equivalents which encouraged districts to expand enrollments as a way of increasing revenues. Until 1978, Richfield used this strategy as a way of keeping ahead of inflation. In that year, requests exceeded state appropriations which by then had declined to about 27 percent of Richfield's operational budget. The following year, the state legislature, in anticipation of a "Proposition 13" type of initiative, passed a law limiting increases in the District property tax which had been forced to assume an ever increasing share of the burden of financing District growth. By 1979-80, Richfield District was feeling the same fiscal pinch as its counterparts across the country as it struggled to cope with inflation, increased costs for maintenance and utilities, and higher salaries and fringe benefits for a highly tenured faculty. Contributing to the problem was the absence of increased state dollars to offset the limitation on local taxing authority. Tuition was imposed for the first time in District history.

The Richfield District was governed by an elected lay board with taxing authority within the limitations imposed by the state legislature. The local board was, in turn, responsible to a state board appointed by the governor and having general responsibility for overseeing the state's system of community colleges. While the existence of two governing boards sounds unwieldy, in practice it functioned very well with the local board maintaining a service area orientation while the state board satisfied concerns of the governor and legislature for accountability. Since state board members were frequently appointed from the ranks of former local board members, for the most part, each board understood and respected the role of the other.

The local board employed a chief executive with the title of Chancellor. The Chancellor, in turn, relied upon two groups of executives as his principal agents: three vice chancellors, and seven college presidents. Prior to the arrival of the new Chancellor who took office in 1977, the District had operated from a single college model with the chief executive titled president and the heads of the various campuses termed executive deans. The changes under the new Chancellor were by no means limited to titles.

During the growth of the early and mid-seventies, governance for the Richfield District was highly centralized with all major decisions made at the top. It was common for governing board members to intervene in administrative decisions and the District, at one time, had been under sanctions from its regional accrediting association to bring the problem under control. Governing board involvement resulted in a heavy political atmosphere and low administrative morale.

Interestingly, the centralization of decision-making and extensive board involvement did not imply control of the educational program where faculty had early exerted their influence. Negotiations between faculty and District administrators had produced an extensive codification of policies for the residential faculty effectively insulating them and most of the curriculum from the machinations at the District level. While the policies were useful in keeping education and politics separate prior to the arrival of the new Chancellor, their existence posed an additional obstacle to change when the District climate had stabilized and administrators were able to turn their attention to issues related to the curriculum.

District Administration

It is difficult to imagine a better setting for examining the potential influence of administrative behavior on literacy in educational programs and services than the circumstances that confronted the researchers when they entered the field for the first time in February of 1979. A new, competent and nationally respected team of leaders were in the final stages of stabilizing relationships between the governing board and the college District. To formalize this development, the Chancellor had drawn a "Code of Ethics" designed to codify board-district interaction. The document outlined legal powers, responsibilities and ethical obligations. Accepted by the board in early 1978, the Code read, in part: "... the Board asserts its responsibilities (to): (1) urge all employees to avail themselves of all administrative remedies and procedures before requesting governing board involvement; ..."

Having established a solid working relationship with the board, the new team was prepared to turn their attention to changes they perceived as necessary to bring the District into the leadership ranks of large community college districts. To accomplish this task, they needed to gain increased influence over the educational program. One early strategy was the creation of a new college-without-walls to alter the previous arrangements which left control over outreach program courses to the individual colleges. The new college also had responsibility for implementing nontraditional forms of instructional delivery, a direction that would have been difficult to sell to the highly traditional and, for the most part, university oriented faculty on the other campuses. Concurrent with the structural changes were efforts aimed at making college administration more important and more accountable for achieving District priorities.

The District office was geographically separated from the seven colleges whose activities it coordinated. While each college had its own administrative staff, nearly forty percent of the administrators in the District were located in the District Office. Structurally, the District office was divided into three major functional areas as depicted in Figure 3.1. An Executive Vice Chancellor was responsible for business and fiscal functions, facilities planning and computer services. Of the three major functional areas, this was the most highly centralized and hierarchically structured. Historically, this office had maintained direct responsibility for such campus functions as maintenance and security, bookstores, business operations and food service. Some of these responsibilities were delegated to campus administrators during the course of this study. However, as college presidents frequently

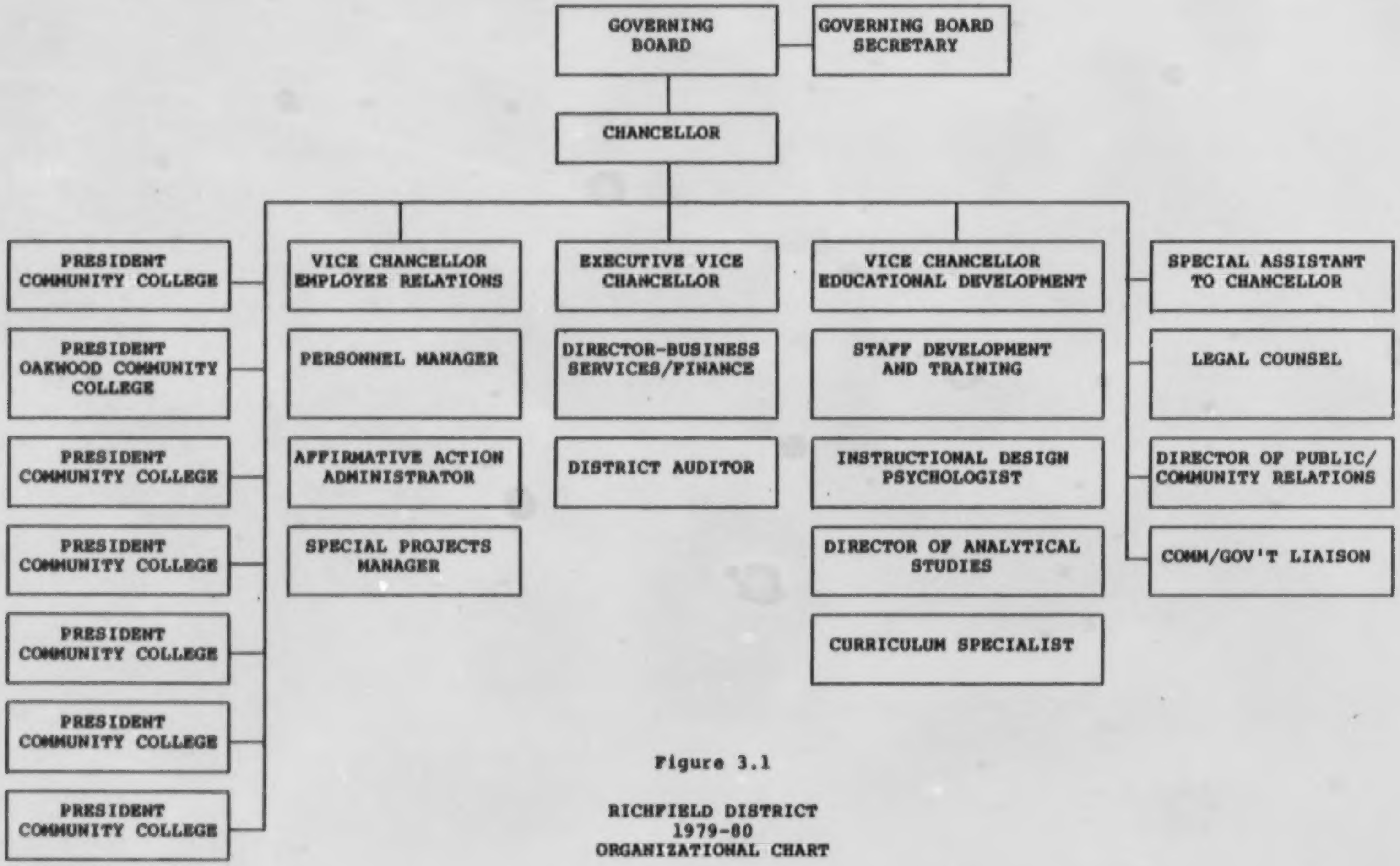
GOVERNING BOARD
GOVERNING BOARD SECRETARY
CHANCELLOR
PRESIDENT COMMUNITY COLLEGE
PRESIDENT OAKWOOD COMMUNITY COLLEGE
PRESIDENT COMMUNITY COLLEGE
PRESIDENT COMMUNITY COLLEGE
PRESIDENT COMMUNITY COLLEGE
PRESIDENT COMMUNITY COLLEGE
PRESIDENT COMMUNITY COLLEGE
VICE CHANCELLOR EMPLOYEE RELATIONS
PERSONNEL MANAGER
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ADMINISTRATOR
SPECIAL PROJECTS MANAGER
EXECUTIVE VICE CHANCELLOR
DIRECTOR-BUSINESS SERVICES/FINANCE
DISTRICT AUDITOR
VICE CHANCELLOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING
INSTRUCTIONAL DESIGN PSYCHOLOGIST
DIRECTOR OF ANALYTICAL STUDIES
CURRICULUM SPECIALIST
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO CHANCELLOR
LEGAL COUNSEL
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC/COMMUNITY RELATIONS
COMM/GOV'T LIAISON

Figure 3.1

RICHFIELD DISTRICT
1979-80
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

observed, the new responsibilities were not accompanied by new staff leaving campus administrators with more responsibilities but no additional resources to accomplish them. The Executive Vice Chancellor was the only one of the four top District officers who had served in the previous administration so his experience and preferences related to a more centralized form of operation than that initiated by the new Chancellor. Despite this difference, the two worked well together.

The Vice Chancellor for Educational Development was the key officer in terms of the interests of District administration, in bringing about changes in the educational program. His responsibilities included coordinating instructional services, curriculum development, educational planning, student services, institutional studies, staff development and a wide range of other activities. Among the senior administrators, he served as the principal change agent. His staff was highly decentralized. Interactions were informal with all staff having direct access to him.

The team was rounded out by a Vice Chancellor for Employee Relations whose responsibilities included personnel, affirmative action and employee negotiations. While the District was not formally organized for collective bargaining, by tradition a meet and confer process had been utilized for establishing policies related to compensation and working conditions. Over time, a very extensive codification of the agreements growing out of this process had developed and was viewed by the faculty as their contract with the board. The accumulated faculty policies represented a major obstacle to change as well as the focus of considerable conflict when the board made a take-it-or-leave-it offer for a salary increase during the first year of the study. The resulting turmoil as well as the jockeying for position of two organizations competing to represent the faculty made this position a key element in the District's change strategy. In terms of centralization and hierarchical structure, this office fell somewhere between the extremes represented by the other two vice chancellors.

During most of the study, there existed a Chancellor's Executive Council comprised of the four senior District officers and the seven college presidents. In the second year of the study, the President of the Faculty Executive Council was added. This body served as the central forum for establishing District policies and direction. Late in the study, somewhat to the consternation of the presidents, the Chancellor withdrew from the group, delegating responsibilities of the chair to the Vice Chancellor for Educational Development. Aiding the Council in its coordinating and planning responsibilities were 28 district wide committees, representative of the seven colleges and the district office, and ranging from "athletics" to "energy use". At least one member of the Council was assigned to each committee for liaison purposes. All committees reported directly to the Council except the Curriculum Committee. Because of the importance of this committee to the educational program, its mode of functioning is discussed in some detail.

Curriculum Development

Administrative priorities for educational change were translated into an evolving curriculum through a process which culminated in a District Curriculum Committee chaired by the Vice Chancellor for Educational Development. While recommendations from this committee were reviewed by the Chancellor and the District Governing Board before being transmitted to external review agencies, modifications of recommendations were very rare and when they did occur, took the form of decisions to modify resource allocations rather than direct intervention in decisions about the educational program. Over the history of the District, the formal process had become increasingly cumbersome, complex and time consuming. The approval of new colleges added a dean of instruction and a faculty representative for each institution, increasing the range of interests the process was required to address.

The faculty had the initiating role in curriculum development while administrators structured the process and served in review and approval roles. The process is depicted for Oakwood College and the Richfield District in Figure 3.2. College faculty in theory had responsibility for researching, documenting and formulating proposals for additions to the curriculum. In occupational areas, much of this work was accomplished by the associate dean for occupational education, working closely with lay advisory committees composed of representatives from potential employers.

College Level Activity

- Initiator
- Department Chair/Associate Dean of Occupational Education
- Instructional Councils
- College Curriculum Committee (chaired by Dean of Instruction)
- Dean of Instruction
- College President

District Level Activity

- District Curriculum Committee (chaired by Vice Chancellor for Educational Development)
- Vice Chancellor for Educational Development
- District Governing Board
- Course Bank for Transfer Credit (departments of State universities)
- For Occupational Funding (State Board of Education)

NOTE: Typically, the Chancellors Executive Council did not become involved in curriculum issues unless the need arose to adjudicate disputes among colleges.

Figure 3.2

The Curriculum Development Process for the Richfield District

In remedial efforts, much of the responsibility for persuading faculty to initiate new responses rested with the dean of instruction. Department chairs reviewed proposals and cleared them for submission to the College Curriculum Committee. While the role of the departmental chair was most often a nominal one, a chair could, under some circumstances, delay or even prevent a proposal from advancing.

From the department level, proposals moved to the College Curriculum Committee where they could be passed, rejected or returned to the faculty for revision. If passed, they were reviewed by the college president who exercised the same three options as the Curriculum Committee. While this was the procedure at the college level, as formally defined, in practice the Dean of Instruction at Oakwood, through informal consultation, determined the probable response to any proposal before it was ever developed. So key was this informal procedure for buffering the inertia of the formal process that Oakwood's Dean believed that individual faculty had little chance of negotiating the system in the absence of administrative support and influence.

From the college level, proposals moved to a District Curriculum Committee chaired by the Vice Chancellor for Educational Development and composed of representatives from all colleges. In this committee, as at the college level, the influence of deans of instruction was critical in winning approval. From the District Curriculum Committee, approved proposals were forwarded to the Chancellor who presented them to the governing board. If approved at this level, they were added to the District's curriculum bank and could then be offered by any of the colleges in the District. New occupational courses also required approval by the state board in order to qualify for the bonus funding provided. New transfer courses were forwarded to the state universities to determine if they would qualify for the award of lower division credit toward the baccalaureate. Instructional councils, while lacking the power to block proposals from advancing, involved faculty representatives from all of the colleges in the District and served a coordinating function as well as providing a focus for disciplinary interests.

If a proposal was rejected at any stage of the approval process, it was returned to the college where it could be revised or dropped. The minimum time required for approval of a new course (as distinct from a program which might require two years or even longer) was 65-90 days. Few courses moved at this accelerated pace without very expert "floor managing". The lead time required for approval of new courses was a source of concern to administrators working with business and industry or community groups where needs sometimes developed and receded before the necessary approvals could be secured.

Operative Goals and Administrative Behaviors

The Richfield District possessed a number of characteristics that must have appeared problematic to the new Chancellor when he assumed office in the Fall of 1977. The highly centralized, single college structure discouraged initiative and responsibility among campus administrators while facilitating governing board intervention in administrative process. The practice of promoting administrators from within as a reward for faithful service combined with the District roots in a public school system, had produced an insular administration perceived to be out-of-touch with the mainstream of emerging community college emphasis on serving new clientele. The educational program, while comprehensive, was university oriented and highly traditional as the result of faculty preferences and the period of benign neglect from administrators.

Changing directions in a complex organization involves the process of setting goals, determining priorities and the systematic use of organizational resources to attain those priorities. It is widely accepted that organizational goals are important considerations in studies of administratively directed adaptation and effectiveness (Perrow, 1961; Etzioni, 1964; Hage, 1980). Sieber (1969) suggests the study of conflict among faculty and between faculty and administration over diverse goals can furnish significant insight into how organizations function.

Organizational goals can be affective commanding little more than perfunctory recognition and allegiance or they can be effective, commanding resources and effort from the organization. Perrow (1961) divided organizational goals into those that are "official" and those that are "operative". Official goals are stated in reports and public information releases. They reflect the mission or general purposes of the organization. Operative goals are the "ends sought through the actual operating policies of the organization".

The operative goals of the new Chancellor responded to what he perceived as the most significant challenges of his new assignment. In an early speech to the faculty, he used the phrase, "FTSES (pronounced 'footsies' and standing for full time student equivalents) are the name of the game" to dramatize the priority of attracting and serving new student clientele in order to secure the District's financial base. Concurrently, he took measures to unfreeze the District structure by creating a new college-without-walls, by altering institutional responsibilities for continuing education and outreach, and by reassigning administrative personnel. Finally, he initiated a nationwide search to fill the administrative vacancies created by changes in structure and the turnover among previous administrators who were unwilling or unable to support the new goals and priorities.

The number of changes and the speed with which they were introduced produced a high level of conflict between the Chancellor and faculty who correctly perceived their hegemony with respect to the educational program to be threatened. As this study began, one major priority for the new Chancellor was to defuse and diffuse the conflict which at that point focused on him. Simultaneously there was the need to begin the process of welding the new administrators recruited into the District along with the survivors from the previous administration, into a working team. The strategy chosen to achieve these ends was the implementation of a broadbased planning activity under the guidance of an external consultant.[1]

The planning process used a "Charette Concept" characterized by intensive activity in a marathon format. Representatives from across the District, designated as the Joint Council on Educational Priorities, completed planning tasks under pressure of time guided by a skilled group facilitator. Prior to the planning session, working papers and factual data had been prepared. The result of the process was fifteen goals representative of the interests of those who participated.[2]

The development of these goals coincided with a decision by the governing board to adopt a "hold the line budget", one feature of which was a seven percent "take-it-or-leave-it" salary offer to the faculty. The budget decision was a strategy designed to persuade the legislature that community colleges should not be included in legislation intended to thwart a "Proposition 13" type voter initiative to limit local property taxes by beating the voters to the punch through adopting statewide limits. The governing board's strategy backfired when the property tax limitation was adopted anyway and the Richfield District had the further misfortune of being left with a lower budget base from which further increases were to be calculated under provisions of the new law. The salary offer to the faculty was the natural consequence of the decision to "hold the line" but faculty interpreted the action as reneging on the long-standing commitment of the governing board to negotiate salary increases through a meet and confer process.

There were two major consequences of importance to the study. First, when researchers entered the field in the Spring of 1979, conflict between faculty and the Chancellor had reached its zenith. There were frequent meetings of the Faculty Association on the campuses and at the District level. Security at these meetings was tight and outsiders were not permitted to attend. Large numbers of faculty attended each meeting of the governing board. There were demonstrations and frequent calls for resignations from the Chancellor and the two vice chancellors recruited from outside the District.

Less visible but of even greater importance to this study was the realization of key administrators that the simultaneous pursuit of the large number of goals and priorities identified by the Joint Council on Educational Priorities (JCEP) was impossible because of limited resources and that a system for determining priorities among the goals identified through the JCEP process was required. If the conflict resulting from the changes introduced by the new Chancellor was to be managed, the process for determining priorities had to permit the interests of participants to be reflected in the decisions reached while lowering the visibility of the Chancellor as an initiator of change. Of course, if the new administration was to achieve the changes they desired in the educational program, they had to maintain control of the decision-making process to the extent of ensuring that their objectives became the operative goals of the organization.

Decision Making

The decision making process for the Richfield District as it evolved in response to the conditions described above can best be understood from the perspective of coalition theory. Coalitions represent competing units operating in a political field which is part of a larger entity. Operating within the rules, values and ideals of the larger entity, they are leader centered, activated on specific occasions and are comprised of individuals with diverse reasons for linkage to the coalition (Pettigrew, 1973). Organizations such as Richfield are composed of coalitions of individuals with multiple changing goals identified by some common interest which members try to promote (Cyert & March, 1963). Coalitions may frequently coincide with departmental or hierarchical boundaries defining clusters of members who share distinct values and interests (Pennings & Goodman, 1977; p. 148, as cited in Bedeian, 1980, p. 83).

In order to formalize and institutionalize the conflict which at the outset of this study had spilled over into the public arena, the Chancellor emphasized the formation and development of management teams. Simultaneously the vice chancellor responsible for personnel began a process of defining faculty coalitions and of establishing working relationships with them. Both efforts bore fruit. By the Fall of 1979, a process of negotiation for salary increases for the following year was in progress with the Faculty Association and with its smaller competitor for faculty representation rights, the state affiliate of the National Education Association. While tension remained high, the external signs of conflict had abated. So skillfully was the negotiation process managed, that the two competing representation groups focused much of their hostility on each other reducing the amount of attention they could give to the Chancellor and his developing administrative team.[3]

Concurrently with the regularization of faculty relationships which was capped by a generous settlement in 1979 including catch up provisions for the unilateral offer of the previous year, there was intensive effort to define and develop management teams. The effort was assisted by an external study of administrative responsibilities and salaries conducted by a nationally known firm and culminating in board action which standardized a previously idiosyncratic system of assigning titles and salaries according to oral tradition and campus preference. The results had a favorable impact on the morale of most administrators and defined the coalitions who participated in the decision-making process at Richfield by establishing membership on the various management teams.[4]

Coalitions were most visible during the resource allocation process but they also functioned in decisions about the educational program as well as in issue areas related to campus autonomy and competition among colleges. Each of the seven colleges, led by their respective presidents, constituted a distinct coalition or lobbying group for the interests of their institution. Each of the major staff groups within the District office: educational development, business and finance, and employee relations, led by the vice chancellors, also formed a coalition to support the interests of the specializations they represented. Finally, the key administrators formed a dominant coalition in which membership fluctuated but always included the Chancellor and the three vice chancellors.

The decision process began with the need for choice and followed a well defined path as depicted in Figure 3.3. Individual administrators and most coalitions participated in carefully circumscribed roles. Only the dominant coalition played an important role in most stages of the process. The respective roles of college and District administrators can be seen in Table 3.1.

A critical aspect of the decision process was the two step choice. The first step involved the selection of an appropriate alternative while the second involved the decision of whether or not to implement the preferred alternative. The two step process enabled the Chancellor to check formally with the governing board if their approval was required or informally with a variety of constituents to assess probable reaction to the choice where board action was not required. This arrangement also

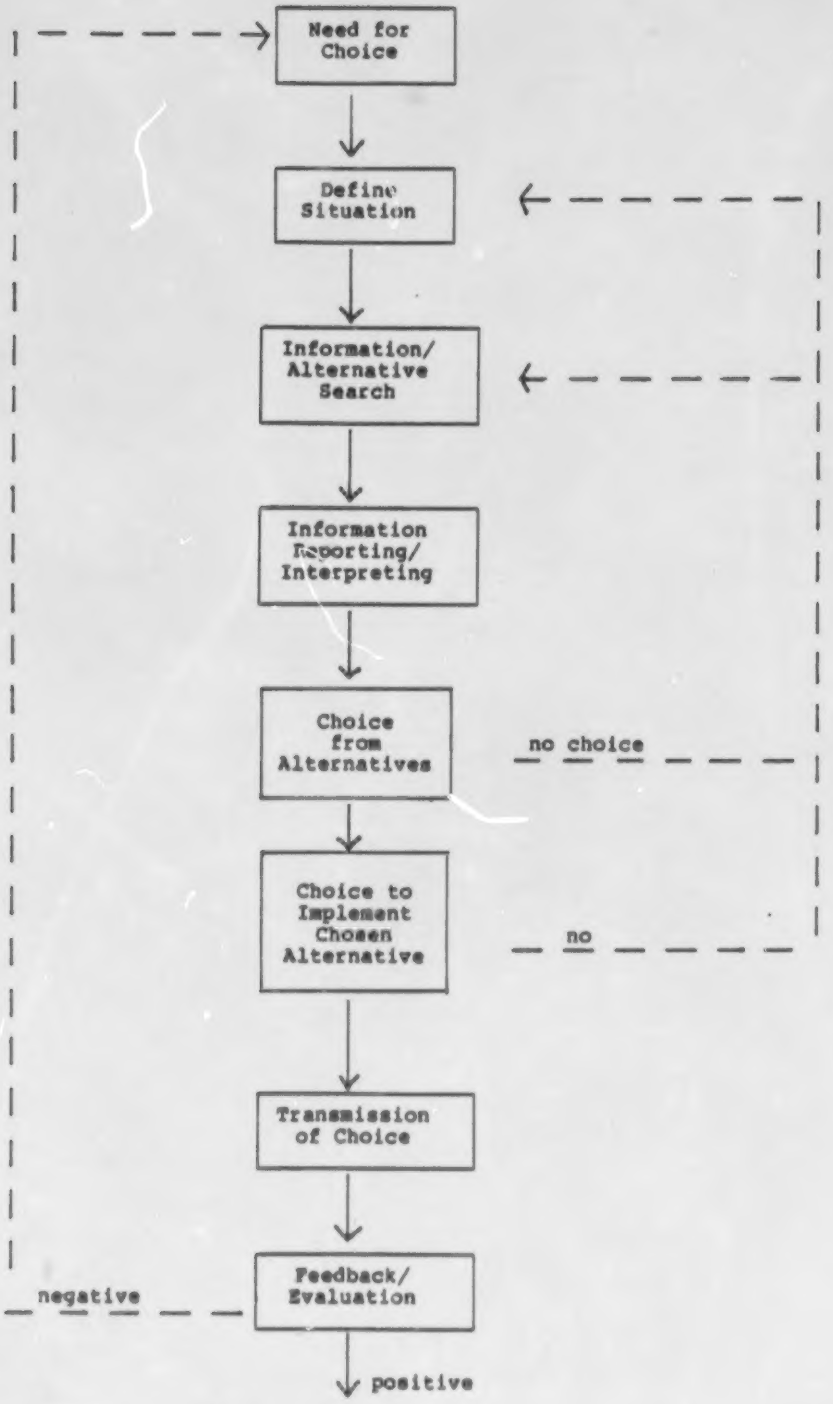
Need for Choice
Define Situation
Information/ Alternative Search
Information Reporting/ Interpreting
Choice from Alternatives
no choice
Choice to Implement Chosen Alternative
no
Transmission of Choice
Feedback/ Evaluation
negative
positive

Figure 3.3

The Stages of the Decision Making Process at Richfield

Table 3.1

Coalitions and Decision Making at Richfield

	Need for Choice	Define Situation	Information/ Alternative Search	Information Reporting/ Interpreting	Alternative Choice	Implement Choice	Communication	Feedback/ Evaluation
College Coalitions	2	2	1	1	2	3	2	2
Educational Development	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	1
Business/ Finance	2	2	1	1	1	3	2	2
Employee/ Relations	2	2	1	1	1	3	2	1
Dominant Coalition	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1

1 - major participant
2 - minor participant
3 - nonparticipant
4 - sole participant

permitted the Chancellor to retain a comfortable level of centralization and control concurrently with the effort to decentralize responsibilities to the colleges and to become less visible in the decision process.

Two primary influences governed decision-making. The first was information which was widely distributed among administrators. The contribution or withholding of information constituted the major or only influence of most administrators on decision-making. The second involved the allocation of resources closely controlled by the dominant coalition. Since most decisions required resources for implementation, the diversion of discretionary resources to dominant coalition priorities was an important strategy for change throughout the course of the study.

The majority of communications in the Richfield District were upward through organizational structures. Upward communications were accorded more importance in the network analysis of administrators than were those that were horizontal or downward. In most cases, communications filtered through a coalition to its leader and from the leader to the leaders of other coalitions. The exception involved committee activities and District sponsored meetings where coalition leaders were not represented. One important function of the Oakwood Administrative Council was the exchange of information and perceptions gained by members of this coalition in their various interactions with other coalitions. Such meetings were also used upon occasion to establish the coalition posture on specific issues under consideration within the District.

Downward communications usually involved requests for information or the transmission of decisions, plans, policies or procedures. The complexity of the District combined with the discipline exercised within coalitions, resulted in a two way system of filters where persons at the bottom or top of the organization were the recipients of information that had been subject to multiple interpretations. In consequence, members of the dominant coalition possessed limited information about students and the classroom setting. They knew headcounts, full time equivalencies, ethnic breakdowns and class sizes. They lacked information about student goals, values, interests and aptitudes. Most were long removed from the classroom setting and possessed little information about how student characteristics impacted the learning process. Literacy was not a meaningful concept for most administrators.

Conversely, faculty received most of their information from other faculty who had read something or heard a rumor. Faculty reported that they interacted almost exclusively with faculty at their own campus. In consequence, their perceptions of decisions made by the Chancellor almost always resulted in some distortion of intent or content. Of course students were even less aware of activity in the District office than faculty. Many knew of its existence but did not understand the implications of relationships between their college and the District.

These circumstances provided fertile ground for conflict, misunderstanding and frustration. From our perspective, it was particularly important in governing the expectations administrators held for such special efforts to improve literacy as the priority accorded to developmental education. Almost without exception there was a direct relationship for administrators between distance from the classroom and the tendency to overestimate results and underestimate costs.

Priorities and Administrative Strategies

The planning process initiated in the Fall of 1978 resulted in confirmation of the operative goal of attracting new clientele which the Chancellor had moved to implement very early in his tenure. Added to this priority were three others which received strong support from the dominant coalition during the period of the study. The priority of student retention was added partly to address faculty concerns about the relative emphasis of the District on recruiting new students in contrast with what they were doing for the ones already there. Of course, it also fitted well with administrative concerns for maximizing enrollments in order to improve the fiscal base.

The decision to emphasize the goal of attracting new clientele led to the requirement for modification of the educational program in order to accommodate the new students without adversely affecting traditional programs. The response chosen was to emphasize developmental education as an operative goal. To achieve this priority, a Developmental Education Advisory Committee was established at the District to complement campus task forces already operating. The Chancellor also initiated a discretionary fund of $200,000 for which the individual colleges were encouraged to compete by submitting proposals related to priorities defined by the JCEP. Significantly during the 1979-80 academic year, virtually all of the proposals funded were related to developmental education or student retention. The fourth operative goal to emerge during the Spring of 1980 was occupational education. Beginning with the Fall of 1980, the District, in rapid succession, created a new position, Director of Occupational Education, staffed it, and then created a District Task Force which, by the Fall of 1981, had developed and secured board approval of a five year plan to strengthen occupational programs including a first year financial commitment of five million dollars.

Colleges and universities which have a tradition of collegiality, shared governance, and faculty autonomy fare better under nonauthoritarian leadership (Astin & Scherrei, 1980). While most community colleges lack the traditions of collegiality and faculty autonomy found in research universities, the Richfield District was unique in having a tradition of strong faculty influence. While still a faculty member, the President of Oakwood had led a drive for greater faculty autonomy in the educational process. From this president's perspective, the battle to prevent administrative interference in the classroom had largely been won. One consequence was to create a set of circumstances where faculty could resist change with a high degree of effectiveness.

While there is general agreement that the style of key administrators is an important consideration in implementing and maintaining adaptation (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978), there are problems with this concept in terms of understanding the Richfield District. For most faculty, District administration was a distant and infrequent experience. Campus administrators had specialized responsibilities resulting in a sequential experience of varied administrative styles.

The alternative to style which proved useful in interrelating administrative behaviors, faculty commitment and institutional priorities was the concept of strategies. Archer (1966, p. 449) refers to strategies as "the alternatives available in any decision plan". Essentially, strategies are plans of action which incorporate decisions based on philosophical assumptions and sets of behaviors which can be observed (Mintzburg, 1979; Galbraith, 1980). In the Richfield District, faculty and middle-level administrators could identify specific behaviors related to the achievement of District or college priorities. These observed behaviors might be equated with strategies or collective administrative style (Astin & Scherrei, 1980).

Strategies employed by the dominant coalition to achieve operative goals included planning, resource allocation, reorganization, adding new staff, staff development and evaluation. The impact of these strategies on faculty commitment to institutional priorities at Oakwood is discussed at some length in the following chapter.

Structural changes were the easiest to implement although where they impinged upon issues of high saliency to the faculty, as in the case of the formation of a college-without-walls, they brought prolonged conflict and subsequent faculty resistance on principle to other new administrative initiatives. It was relatively simple, however, to create a new position to administer occupational education programs or to constitute a District task force. The most difficult and time consuming changes involved attitudes about the relative importance of programs, clients and instructional methods. Perhaps the most effective strategies for attitudinal change were those related to planning and resource allocation but these strategies required time and support in the form of staff development and staffing changes.

One important effort that made use of the strategy of reorganization was the decentralization of decision-making and budgetary responsibilities to give greater latitude for influencing the implementation of District priorities to the college presidents. This decision was made by the Chancellor, endorsed with varying degrees of enthusiasm by the other members of the dominant coalition, and implemented in stages over a two-year period even in the face of obvious fiscal problems. The importance attached to this strategy resulted from the Chancellor's desire to have presidents buy into District priorities and to assume a proactive role in their achievement. The strategy was perceived as necessary because under the previous centralized administration, the presidents, then titled executive deans, had served more in a caretaking and mediating role with neither the discretion nor the resources to impact on the achievement of District priorities to the extent desired by the new Chancellor. Of course since the District in that period was perceived as having few priorities for changing the educational program, this had not been a problem until the new administration sought to exercise more influence in this area.

Presidents were not uniformly enthusiastic about the increased responsibilities they were asked to assume. Part of their restraint resulted from the perception that decentralization altered their responsibilities more significantly than it did their ability to influence the decision-making process. In terms of the budget, amounts requested invariably exceeded funds available. Expenditures in fixed areas such as District mandated salary increases and utilities left little in the way of discretionary funds available to presidents. In one year, amounts allocated were less than increased obligations resulting from the salary settlement despite a significant increase in the number of students attending. The college presidents were further constrained by their inability to hire additional staff to carry out the new responsibilities. Invariably, staff previously responsible for these functions remained at the District office and assumed new responsibilities. College administrators picked up the responsibilities in addition to their other duties. This in turn, resulted in an upgrading of salaries and titles for some college administrators placing further pressure on the annual budgets. Despite these constraints, decentralization of some responsibilities seemed effective in strengthening the ability of the dominant coalition to encourage colleges to give attention to their priorities for educational change.

In addition to decentralization and the major structural modifications resulting from the decision to establish the college-without-walls and one additional comprehensive college to address the special needs of minority students, several other strategies were used by the dominant coalition during the study. These included:

(1) Equalizing Expenditures by FTE. The Richfield District had three colleges of comparable size with one receiving a greater FTE allocation than the other two. It was decided by the dominant coalition that these should be equalized. Since available resources didn't allow for larger increases to the other two, the increases to the favored institution were decreased. This brought parity faster and with less conflict than by increasing the other two.

(2) Increasing Management Morale. When the new Chancellor assumed his duties, administrators' morale was low due to continued faculty success with the governing board and the negative perceptions of many administrators held by board members. In addition, administrative salaries had increased at a much slower pace than faculty. Under the dominant coalition's direction, administrators received comparable increases to the faculty over a three year period. Finally, a management breakfast was held twice a year to show appreciation to the administrators and their contributions to the educational program were emphasized.

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(3) Marketing. This strategy coincided with the formally established goal aimed at serving new clientele and, in a sense, went beyond it. The marketing approach selected was in the pattern of marketing in business and industry and targeted to maintain a steady annual increase of four to five percent in enrollments. A director of public relations and marketing was hired, the mailing of college catalogs and applications were coordinated in a single mass mailing, and an independent firm was retained to conduct a survey aimed at identifying unserved groups in the community.

(4) Increasing External Support. When confronted with the possibility the state legislature would pass a new finance bill for community colleges, the dominant coalition formed a legislative committee to work on the problem. The members of the committee met with individual legislators and, for a period, devoted more time to lobbying than to District governance. Despite an intensive and well coordinated effort, a property tax limitation bill was passed adding to the fiscal constraints facing the District.

(5) Standardizing Course Offerings. Universities under pressure to improve articulation and confronted with the concerns of their own faculties about course proliferation at community colleges often approved new courses for elective credit only. Since the number of lower division elective credits students could transfer toward degrees was limited, the net effect of the practice was to leave transfer students with "credit" but, in actuality, no closer to their objective than if they had not taken the courses. Because responsibility for the courses had been delegated to the faculty by the previous administration, with little if any provision for accountability, course content varied widely on the various campuses for courses with the same "district course bank number". This variation was cited by universities as a partial justification for the practice of awarding elective credit. Under the direction of the Vice Chancellor for Educational Development, district instructional councils composed of faculty representatives from related disciplines devoted considerable effort to standardizing courses by specifying goals, objectives, content outlines and evaluation methods. While one effect of this strategy was to place some limits on faculty autonomy to determine course objectives and content, full time faculty supported this project strongly because of their concerns about the impact of the increasing numbers of adjunct faculty on program quality.

(6) Planning and Task Force Activity. Perhaps most important of all was the strategy of using broadly based task forces representative of faculty and administrators from across the District to address specific priorities by undertaking detailed planning which was subsequently tied into the allocation of resources. Developmental education was the first priority selected for this approach but the process did not reach maturity until it was used to address occupational education during the 1980-81 year. Following the striking success of this group, the task force approach was expanded to include groups focusing on arts and sciences and honor programs, two concerns which emerged from the general faculty during the period of extensive attention to occupational education.

There were three additional strategies observed of somewhat less importance than those previously described. In the last year of the study, the Chancellor decided to shift his emphasis from internal issues to the external community as a result of his assessment that the vice chancellors and college presidents had developed into a working team that would continue to pursue District priorities effectively without his direct involvement. The Chancellor renamed the Executive Council as a presidents council and assigned responsibility for chairing to the Vice Chancellor for Education Development. This decision, made without advance consultation with the presidents, resulted in initial criticism which was attenuated as the arrangement proved workable. Some lingering feelings of deprivation and resentment still existed at the end of the study, however.

The Chancellor also implemented a modified management by objectives approach involving an annual evaluation. Again, the impact was to tie administrators more securely to their responsibilities for achieving District priorities. Finally, colleges were encouraged to save money on their operational budgets through an incentive program which involved retention by each college of a percentage of unexpended funds. This strategy was so successful that colleges sometimes went without services or staff they really needed in order to increase the discretionary funds available for the following year.

The range of behaviors in which the dominant coalition engaged should not obscure the importance of their control of organizational resources. Through this control they were able to add to or alter structures, create positions, assign or reassign responsibilities and commit discretionary resources to preferred alternatives. Even in a time of scarce resources changes were authorized and funded. A marketing director was employed within a month while faculty and staff positions were frozen at the colleges to balance the budget.

Administrative Commitment to Operative Goals

There are two, fundamental views of commitment in the literature (Mowday et al, 1970; Steers et al, 1979). The first, which has been called the "behavioral view" has its roots in social psychology (Kiesler, 1971; Salancik, 1979). According to this view, commitment is "the binding of an individual to behavioral acts" and it is the result of behavior (Salancik, 1977, p. 64). In essence individuals tend to adjust their attitude or belief systems to be consistent with overt behavior. The amount of adjustment depends on: 1) the relative consistency of the preexisting belief system with the act, 2) the perceived conditions that surround the act, and 3) the frequency of the act. The conditions surrounding the act include visibility to others, irrevocability and volition (Kiesler, 1971, pp. 32-33; Salancik, 1977, p. 64).

The second and more common view has been labeled "attitudinal" commitment. Although there is some diversity in operational definitions, there are also some consistent trends (Buchanan, 1974; Porter et al, 1974; Steers, 1977; Mowday et al, 1979; Steers & Porter, 1979). According to the attitudinal construct, a committed employee: 1) identifies strongly with the organization and its goals, 2) is loyal to the organization, and 3) is willing to work hard to achieve the organization's goals. Steers (1977, p. 53) relates the development of attitudinal commitment to the process of "exchange" that was proposed by March and Simon (1958). Each employee brings certain personal needs and skills to an organization. If the organization meets the needs and utilizes the skills, the employee will be committed. If the organization fails, the employee remains uncommitted and less effective.

The major difference between the two theories is the means by which individual commitment is established and maintained. Both of these views have contributed to this study. The behavioral view suggests that an administrator can induce commitment to organizational goals through use of real or perceived circumstances surrounding behavior that is consistent with organizational needs. Theoretically, the level of behavioral commitment should be related to the perceptions of organizational success or goal achievement. The true extent of goal achievement is relatively unimportant since it is the perception that influences the level of commitment (Salancik, 1977, p. 72). Ethnographic observations and interviews with administrators and faculty provided extensive information about their reactions to the priorities established within the Richfield District and the behavior of administrators acting to achieve these priorities. To the behavioral view derived from observations, we have added attitudinal information generated from a district-wide survey. For the purposes of this study, we viewed administrators and faculty as committed to operative goals to the extent they: 1) agreed with importance and relative priority, 2) actively supported achievement, 3) expressed loyalty, and 4) believed progress had been made (Salancik, 1977). In this chapter we describe administrative commitment viewed from a District perspective. Comparable information on faculty and administrative commitment at Oakwood is reported in the next chapter.

One important measure of administrative commitment is job tenure. This measure was particularly useful in the Richfield District since administrators possessed the right to return to the faculty. Good salaries and abundant opportunities to supplement income through part-time teaching, special assignments and outside businesses resulted in circumstances where administrators below the level of president who returned to the faculty, made at least as much money as they had been making with considerably less effort. Under such conditions, turnover among administrators was rapid after arrival of the new Chancellor. It is particularly instructive, however, to examine changes among presidents and vice chancellors since the status and compensation of these positions minimized the turnover unrelated to commitment or performance.

When the new Chancellor arrived, seven administrators held the rank of executive dean or vice president. Six were Anglo males and one was a woman. All were the product of lengthy careers within the District. Three of the men were still in senior administrative positions by the end of this study. Among the nine who formed the augmented group of presidents and vice chancellors in the Spring of 1981, six had been employed from outside the District. Of these six, two were Chicanos, one was Black and one was a woman. The early strategies of reorganization and staffing changes produced a blend of outside talent and individuals from within who were both interested in, and capable of, pursuing the operative goals of the District. While administrators continued, throughout the study, to exhibit considerable diversity in terms of their commitment to specific priorities, the personnel changes did produce a level of administrative commitment which exceeded the level of faculty commitment for most priorities providing an environment where progress toward objectives was possible, if not assured.

For many college administrators, the issues surrounding District priorities were more economic than philosophical. They were not so much opposed to undertaking new initiatives as they were concerned about the availability of adequate resources. One president couldn't understand the push to get new students when they couldn't hold on to the ones they already had.

Most of the verbal clashes over priorities occurred at Executive Council meetings where presidents frequently reflected the concerns of their staffs. At one meeting, the President of Oakwood indicated that he treated the "priority recommendations (growing out of the District planning process) as just that ... recommendations". He implemented those he felt appropriate for his college. At another meeting, he stated, "It's difficult to justify holding funds for special projects at the District when there's not enough at the campuses." This was supported by another presidential comment, "The $400,000 may be too rich for my blood." These comments were in reference to the funds reserved by the Chancellor as incentive funds to support priorities. Most frequently, the Chancellor was absent when these remarks were made. The comments were intended for the vice chancellors who would, in turn, share them with the Chancellor. The Chancellor's style of conducting meetings did not encourage these comments when he was present.

District priorities had little impact on the daily activities of administrators in business and finance and personnel who had little contact with the educational program or faculty. Their responsibilities remained relatively constant regardless of shifts in program emphasis. Perhaps their remoteness from the educational process accounted for their generally lower level of commitment.

The educational development staff, in contrast, were in the business of coordinating and providing educational services to the educational programs of the colleges. They saw the new priorities as a source of direction for District growth, something that had been lacking in the past. Among the activities in which educational development staff engaged to support operative objectives were: planning and conducting seminars on such topics as developmental education, occupational education and student characteristics; assisting college staff to prepare proposals requesting incentive funds; conducting studies to generate information for program planning; and assisting in the planning and development of competency based instructional modules.

Data from participant observers related to level of administrative commitment was difficult to interpret because of the frequent turnover among administrators as well as the magnitude and pace of change within the District during the study. To assist in interpreting observations and interviews, a survey of commitment among administrators and faculty was conducted in the Fall of 1980 after the new team was largely in place and during a period of relative calm. Table 3.2 provides a comparison of administrative responses to the survey.

Both the mean and the standard deviation give evidence of the differences among Oakwood administrators in terms of their commitment to developmental education. Of significance was the fact that among Richfield District colleges, Oakwood was experiencing the most success in attracting new clientele and this success was attributed in part, among administrators to the progress that had been made in developing new programs such as the one in adult basic skills. Significantly, the lowest levels of commitment and the largest standard deviations occurred among colleges enrolling the largest percentages of minority students and making the most serious efforts to develop new programmatic responses in the area of developmental education.

The attitude survey was consistent with the ethnographic data. Oakwood had traditionally been a strong, transfer oriented institution led by administrators who came from faculty ranks and shared many of the faculty values. The President of Oakwood was one of the three surviving senior administrators from the previous administration. Faculty committed to the developmental programs at Oakwood perceived administrative support for their efforts to be less consistent than they felt desirable.

The level of commitment to operative priorities among District office personnel closely resembled the levels reported for Oakwood. In fact, the means for District office administrators were less than the District mean for all priorities except occupational education. Providing evidence that the Chancellor was not unaware of this phenomenon were his actions in scheduling breakfast meetings for administrators to discuss priorities and his requirement that all administrators in the District office place in writing their perceptions of how their jobs contributed to the educational programs offered by the District. While administrators did report higher levels of commitment to operative goals than faculty three years after the new Chancellor had taken office, there was still room for improvement.

Additional analysis of levels of commitment among District office coalitions indicated the strongest agreement was recorded among members of the dominant coalition who, as previously noted, exerted the most influence on choice of priorities. Business and finance provided the most traditional profile with the least enthusiasm for developmental education and the most positive response to student retention, a pattern that was similar to the one for transfer oriented faculty. The two top programmatic priorities of the District during the study were, in order of emergence, developmental education and occupational education. The educational development staff who were responsible for providing leadership and support in the pursuit of these goals endorsed them at a level exceeded only by the respondents from the dominant coalition.

The data suggests that those who select priorities and those responsible for achieving them exhibit higher levels of commitment than those who perceive minimal relationships between their responsibilities and the operative goals of the organization. This observation is, of course, totally consistent with all of the research literature and was expected. Involvement can produce commitment but it also diffuses focus. The broadbased comprehensive planning process introduced by the new

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Table 3.2

Administrative Commitment to Operative Goals

Commitment Level	District N=79		District Office N=43		College Oakwood N=7		College 3 N=14		College 4 N=14		College 6 N=12		College 2 N=12	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Serving New Clientele	4.18	.99	3.79	1.00	4.16	.74	3.94	1.73	3.84	1.29	4.29	.48	4.49	.41
Developmental Education	3.74	1.19	3.63	1.09	2.84	1.85	3.78	1.70	3.56	1.29	4.28	.48	3.73	.72
Student Retention	4.01	1.07	3.92	.96	3.31	1.64	3.77	1.66	3.96	1.19	4.25	.50	4.46	.45
Occupational Education	4.08	1.11	4.15	.90	3.51	1.61	3.83	1.70	4.04	1.27	4.55	.49	4.32	.54

5 = Strongly Committed
3 = Uncommitted
1 = Strongly Opposed

Chancellor was successful in reducing conflict by identifying a range of goals to which almost everyone in the District could relate. The practical realities of fiscal restraints dictated the identification of a limited number of operative goals to which discretionary resources were directed. Administrators not involved in selecting or implementing the operative goals were less enthusiastic than their more active colleagues. The findings suggest Richfield had moved from a period of high conflict and much evidence of resistance to a new Chancellor's priorities to a situation where those who needed to be committed were and most of the rest were at least not actively opposed.

Conclusion

Important changes occurred in educational programming and emphasis during the course of this study. A district, which could have been described in the mid-seventies as traditional and strongly transfer oriented, moved rapidly toward the community development model by expanding its clientele, altering its organizational patterns, adding new programs and services and emphasizing new modes of delivery. These changes had important implications for literacy as described in our report on student services and educational programs.

In the early stages of the change process, reorganization and expansion were emphasized. Following a period of intense conflict, the pace of change altered and emphasis was placed upon planning, staff development and the use of incentives to encourage voluntary responses from administrators and faculty willing to commit themselves to the new priorities. Now, some four years after the arrival of the new Chancellor, the District appears in the mainstream of American community colleges, in terms of the California model, and has even achieved rcognition for innovation in a number of areas. How can the importance and consequences of these changes best be understood?

On the plus side, clearly the District has changed and in the direction intended by the dominant coalition. For anyone who believes that large, multi-campus community college districts may be organized anarchies as Cohen and March suggest for their university counterparts, the results are instructive (Cohen & March, 1974). Determined administrative leadership that knows where it wants to go and how to get there, through control of the resource allocation process and a judicious blending of the other strategies available to administrators, can make significant progress toward achieving change even in a limited period of time - if they are resilient enough and persistent enough to endure the accompanying conflict.

The progress of the Richfield District in adapting to a new set of priorities leads naturally to questions of the meaning of change. If success for community colleges is measured by the number served and the variety of programs offered in relation to a fixed level of fiscal support, then this District has been extremely successful. From a different perspective, it seems clear that the expansion of services and clientele has been accomplished without a corresponding increase in constant dollars available per FTE student. Adaptation has been encouraged by sequentially addressing operative objectives through making available a limited number of discretionary dollars which, in turn, must be "borrowed" from other areas of ongoing institutional operations. The discretionary dollars have been sufficient to initiate, but will they be adequate for sustained achievement? Equally important for the purposes of this study is the impact of the changes on the functions of literacy in the classroom and in the student service offices.

The answer to these questions required a more detailed look at the impact on faculty attitudes and, ultimately, on the classroom environment. The chapters which follow will provide insight into the consequences for faculty and students of the process of adaptation in which Richfield had been involved through an intensive review of life at one of its major colleges, Oakwood.

ENDNOTES

1. Interviews with the Chancellor and from a 1978 document, "The Chancellors Blueprint for Long-Range Planning."
2. Methodological Appendix: Administration includes a list of the fifteen formal goals established in 1979-80 through the District Planning Process. Taken from Recommendations for 1978-79, Priorities and Planning Activities, draft copy, November 1978.
3. No one was actually misled during this process. Interviews with faculty leaders as well as with key administrators make it clear that all knew what was happening and all were impressed by the administrative skill with which the process was managed. This is not to say they were equally pleased with results.
4. Most administrators benefited from the reclassification. Those who did not were "red-lined", i.e. their maximum salary was established as their current salary. No one suffered actual loss of pay.

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CHAPTER IV

OAKWOOD COLLEGE

The local college was the crucible where District priorities for change, staff preferences for stability, and the demands of a changing student clientele came together to effect the compromises essential to the continuation of the educational programs and services for which the District existed. Central to the process of negotiation and compromise among administrators and faculty was the willingness of both groups to commit themselves to the operative goals of the District. This chapter describes the impact of District priorities on Oakwood administrators and faculty as well as the processes through which these priorities were translated into institutional adaptations.

The adaptations described invariably represented compromises between administrators and faculty attempting to initiate directed change and those administrators and faculty who would have preferred keeping things as they were. Of course, compromises satisfy no one so healthy institutions responding to environmental or administrative influences for change invariably display creative levels of dissatisfaction. At the time this study began, however, District pressures for change had been so insistent and the pace of District initiated change had been so rapid that an unusually high level of dissatisfaction accompanied by many visible signs of conflict was evident on the Oakwood campus.

Apart from the unusual level of conflict, to the extent it is meaningful to characterize any institution as typical, Oakwood Community College merited that description. Founded in the mid-sixties when such institutions were being established at the rate of one a week, Oakwood subscribed to the open door philosophy and had developed by the time of the study, the comprehensive curriculum that normally accompanies the philosophy. While Oakwood possessed many characteristics common to community colleges in general, it also exhibited unique properties related to its history as part of the Richfield District.

In 1966-67, Oakwood had enrolled 4,000 students yielding a full time equivalency of 2,700. Ten years later, the comparable figures were 12,000 and 7,000. Despite the impressive enrollment figures, relatively few students graduated, an experience that is common to most open access low tuition institutions of its type. Only 750 students received a degree in 1977-78, despite the enrollment of more than 7,000 full time equivalent students. Part of the reason for the low completion rate was, of course, the high numbers of part time students. Like their counterparts in community colleges elsewhere, Oakwood administrators explained the low completion rate as a function of students attending for reasons other than degree attainment. The assumption accompanying this rationale was that students were achieving their objectives to a satisfactory degree even though such objectives were largely undefined and the level of achievement unmeasured. It is an unstated correlative of community college philosophy that questioning the benefits of attendance constitutes heresy.

Nevertheless, most community colleges like Oakwood are funded on the basis of their full time equivalent enrollments. For its entire history, Oakwood had been accustomed to offsetting losses due to inflation by increasing enrollments more rapidly than costs. By 1978, however, declining numbers of full time students interested in the transfer programs combined with greater diversity among the students recruited to offset the loss in traditional enrollments were forces compelling adaptation in Oakwood's educational program and services. While the enrollment continued to increase, the new students were part time in significantly larger proportions. More attended in the evening and, increasingly, those in attendance lacked the writing, reading and numeracy skills regarded by faculty as minimal for success in the transfer programs.

The use of adjunct faculty had played an important role in Oakwood's development. In 1966-67, there was one full time faculty member for every 28 full time student equivalents. By 1978, the ratio was 1 to 43 excluding counselors and library staff. While the use of adjunct faculty in the day program was condemned by full time faculty, there was no similar complaint about the evening program since full time faculty were given preference for evening assignments and received extra compensation for accepting them. In its use of adjuncts, its changing student clientele and its fiscal constraints, Oakwood was very much like other community colleges that are part of urban, multi-campus districts.

Administration

Richfield District had traditionally operated with a strongly centralized administration. Until the current Chancellor took office in 1977, the chief administrator at Oakwood held the title of Executive Dean. Areas such as food service, maintenance of buildings and grounds, security, bookstore and fiscal services were all controlled by a vice president in the District Office.

During the period of the study, a decision was made to decentralize responsibilities for a number of these functions and the title of the campus chief executive officer was changed to president. Oakwood administration viewed the decision to decentralize with mixed emotions. While they liked the idea of greater autonomy, they were concerned that increased responsibilities were not accompanied by increases in administrative staff for the college. To complicate matters further, some key college-based personnel, including the fiscal officer and the managers for food services and the bookstore, continued to report to a District officer. Of most concern was the divided allegiance of the fiscal officers who, in the words of one administrator, "for a $17,000 salary were supposed to keep both college and district level officers happy and out of trouble."

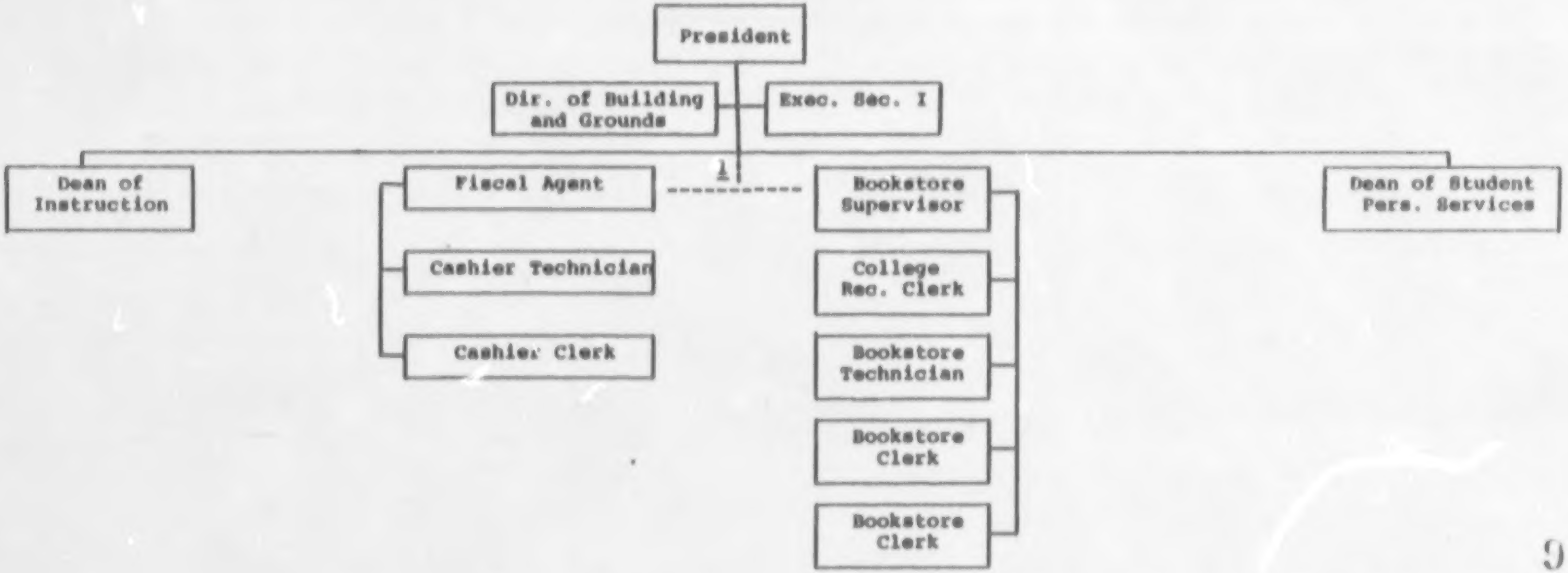
As part of the decentralization effort, District officers had encouraged presidents to define "management teams". At Oakwood, the team included, in addition to the president: two deans (Instruction and Student Services), three associate deans (Admissions and Records, Continuing and Special Education, Occupational Education) and three directors (Evaluation and Research, Student Activities, Special Services). Significantly, administrators reporting to District officers were excluded from the team by design, resulting in communication problems as well as increased coordinating responsibilities for members of the team. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 provide additional information about the Oakwood administrative structure during the period of the study.

The Administrative Council met weekly and served as the coordinating structure for the management team. Meetings were informal, did not involve agendas or minutes and served primarily to facilitate communication. Frequently, the President or other team members reported on meetings they attended. Much less frequently, a problem would be presented to the Council by one member, followed by discussion involving the entire group. Decisions were rarely reached in these sessions. The President listened carefully to everything that was said and then made his own decision. The decision might or might not coincide with the advice he received. Sometimes the Council was used to define the official position of the College on an issue being considered by the District. This was important because of the variety of meetings attended by the different Council members. Finally, the Council also provided a source of mutual support for its members in times of stress.

Next to the Administrative Council, the most important committee meeting at Oakwood involved department chairs and was conducted by the Dean of Instruction. These meetings were held three or four times each semester according to a published schedule. Often in attendance, but not as very active participants, were the Dean of Student Services and associate deans whose areas of responsibility corresponded to items under discussion. The meeting of department chairs served primarily coordinating and problem-solving functions. Because of the faculty

Figure 4.1

1979-1980 Staffing Chart
OAKWOOD COMMUNITY COLLEGE


President
Dir. of Building and Grounds
Exec. Sec. I
Dean of Instruction
Fiscal Agent
1
Bookstore Supervisor
Dean of Student Pers. Services
Cashier Technician
College Rec. Clerk
Cashier Clerk
Bookstore Technician
Bookstore Clerk
Bookstore Clerk

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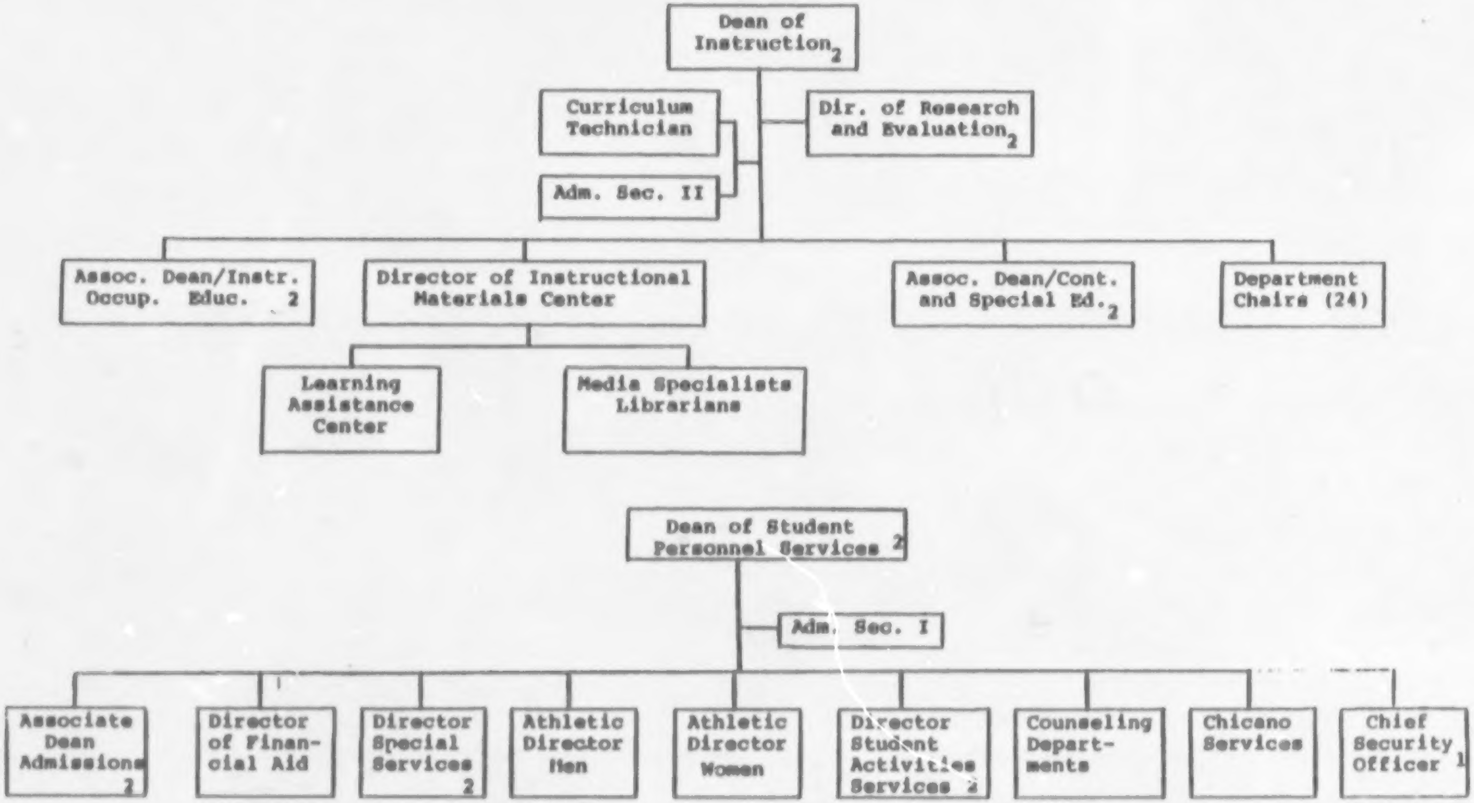
1 Dotted line indicates staff relationship. These positions reported to Executive Vice Chancellor through line organisation.

Figure 4.2

Detail of Organizational Structure: Office of Instruction, Office of Student Personnel Services


Dean of Instruction 2
Curriculum Technician
Adm. Sec. II
Dir. of Research and Evaluation 2
Assoc. Dean/Instr. Occup. Educ. 2
Director of Instructional Materials Center
Assoc. Dean/Cont. and Special Ed. 2
Department Chairs (24)
Learning Assistance Center
Media Specialists Librarians
Dean of Student Personnel Services 2
Adm. Sec. I
Associate Dean Admissions 2
Director of Financial Aid
Director Special Services 2
Athletic Director Men
Athletic Director Women
Director Student Activities Services 2
Counseling Departments
Chicano Services
Chief Security Officer 1

[1] This position became a campus, as distinct from a District, responsibility during the study.
[2] Defined as members of the management team, Fall, 1979. This group with the President comprised the Administrative Council.

status of department chairs, these meetings represented one important interface between administrative and faculty priorities and values.

Department chairs were selected for rotating terms by the faculty of their departments subject to approval by the President. The 182 full time faculty were distributed among 26 departments ranging in size from two or three members to 27. Counseling which reported to the Dean of Students and the Instructional Materials Center both held status as departments. Since chairs did not receive released time unless there were at least nine members in the department, the time available to them for administration, given the fifteen hour teaching load, was quite limited. As a result of prior negotiations between the Faculty Association and the District, additional compensation for chairs had been stressed at the expense of released time. In one department with 27.5 full time equivalent faculty in the day program, the chair taught 12 hours one semester and 9 hours the other. In addition, she had general responsibilities for an evening program that was about one-third as large as the day program. A number of chairs taught extra courses for extra compensation in the evening. There was one chair who received no released time because of the size of his department but who taught extra courses in the evening and carried on a private business on the side.

Partly as a result of the heavy time commitments of chairs, the departments made few demands on faculty beyond course scheduling and text selection. There were rarely more than two meetings during an academic year and these were held primarily to disseminate information. Class responsibilities were often structured in a relatively informal way during department meetings as chairs discussed class and time preferences with faculty. Departments did not appear to take the initiative with respect either to curricular or instructional adaptation.

In addition to the department structure, there were 21 college committees, the most important of which was the one on curriculum. Most had an average of five members with one or two inactive. Administrators typically served as committee chairs or as exofficio members. The more important committees, such as curriculum, often had several administrators in attendance. Committee work was one of the demands placed on faculty both by the administration and by other faculty. The most active committee during 1979-80 was the one on advisement and registration which met weekly and did an enormous amount of work in producing an advisor's handbook and reorganizing the advising and registration process. At the opposite end of the spectrum were several committees which met rarely and accomplished little that was visible.

During the study three full time members of the faculty served in quasi-administrative roles to provide faculty leadership and administrative support for staff development activities, the developmental studies task force and an advisement and registration committee, respectively. Each of these areas was critical to the plans of the Dean of Instruction for achieving directed change. These faculty members were selected because of their commitment to serving students with limited reading and writing skills, an important administrative priority. They were given released time or summer employment through use of discretionary funds provided by the District augmented by College funds where necessary.

The role of quasi-administrators was ambiguous. They were asked to perform administrative tasks but were not given administrative support services such as secretarial help, access to duplicating services or telephones in their offices where these were not already installed. They were not invited to administrative meetings and lacked authority to implement any of the recommendations growing out of their activities. Administrators did not view them as performing administrative roles while faculty sometimes resented the contributions they made to achieving change desired by District administrators. Because all three of the quasi-administrators were women, they attributed many of the less desirable aspects of their role to their sex with some justification. One commented, "the men were less willing to do it because they have been here so long ... Women will work much harder because they have not reached their level of incompetency."

Curriculum

The purposes and goals of an institution are reflected in its curriculum. Any analysis of instructional activity and the role of literacy within that activity having holistic description as an objective must begin with a description of the programmatic structure through which administrators, faculty and students meld institutional purposes and their own value preferences. The curriculum at Oakwood represented a logical extension of the mission and educational priorities of the Richfield District. Course offerings were comprehensive within allowances for an administrative decision of the late sixties to concentrate technical programs requiring heavy capital investment on a campus strategically located to serve the entire metropolitan area.

The curriculum represents "the courses and patterns of courses offered by the institution in order to present the knowledge, principles, values, and skills that are the intended consequences of instructional activity" (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1978). A variety of terms were used in Oakwood publications to refer to the patterns of courses that made up the curriculum. The terminology was not always used consistently. The rapid growth of the college both in terms of the expansion of educational goals and the increase in numbers of students had produced few opportunities for consolidation or refinement of institutional procedures. Engrossed in expanding educational opportunities, the college had limited time to worry about the terms used to describe them.

Thus "curriculum" at Oakwood might refer to any of the following:

- A prescribed series of courses required to earn the Associate in Applied Science (AAS) degree in a specific occupational area, for example, electronics technology. These programs were designed to take the full time student two years to complete. They included a District-wide general education requirement.

- A somewhat more flexible series of courses a student might follow to earn an Associate of Arts (AA) degree or to transfer to a four year college to pursue the baccalaureate degree. These were also called advisement packages. Some advisement packages closely resembled the first two years of coursework in the related area at the state university. Others, such as Ethnic Studies, had no parallel. Students were permitted to combine an advisement package with general education requirements to obtain an AA or Associate in General Studies (AGS) degree.

- A prescribed series of courses in a specific occupational area, for example, automotive chassis, required to earn a certificate. The career specific courses were the same as those required for the AAS. However, certificate programs generally required no general education courses and could be completed in a year or less by a full time student.

- A sequence represented an institutional decision that courses within a specific department or grouping of related departments had to be taken in a specified order. Sequences were discouraged unless required (as in math and science) because of the impact on enrollments in the more advanced courses and the corresponding possibility that such courses would not be offered because of low enrollments.

- A block was a planned series of self contained courses designed to assist adults in the development of reading, mathematics and English skills. While the courses in a block were clearly remedial, the institution offered a maximum of 12 credits from such courses toward the AGS degree in order to preserve student eligibility for federal financial assistance.

- A student was also able to follow none of the institutionally developed patterns of courses but rather design an individualized pattern. These idiosyncratic patterns could also be combined with general education requirements to earn the AA or AGS degree.

Figure 4.3 summarizes the patterns which made up the curriculum at Oakwood. Despite the liberal arrangements for completing degree requirements only about ten percent of those enrolled graduated each year. Typically those who transferred to the universities did not bother to earn the AA degree.

Most of the institutional patterns were administered, at least nominally, by a department. However, some advisement packages and all blocks had inter or extra departmental administrators. The blocks were administered by a quasi-administrator serving as coordinator. Pre-health advisement packages were the responsibility of both the biology and the chemistry departments. Pre-law was served by the departments of philosophy and business. Some departments, as in the case of social sciences, administered as many as 19 patterns. In contrast, departments such as mathematics, reading and foreign language administered none.

Table 4.1 presents an overview of the departments at Oakwood, the courses and patterns they administered and the chronological sequence in which the patterns emerged. Paralleling student goals in attending Oakwood, four major categories served as the structure within which this variety of patterns was conceptualized. These four areas included:

- o Transfer Education - An academic program comparable to the freshman and sophomore years at the state universities.
- o Occupational Education - Programs emphasizing job-ready training to minimize the completion time required and maximize skill development to meet job market demands.
- o Developmental Education - Training in basic skills for adults to help them function in complex society and/or prepare them for entry into college level occupational or academic programs. Its specific objectives were to improve skills in communication (listening, speaking, reading, writing), computation, human relations, decision-making skills and study skills.
- o Continuing Education - Opportunities for citizens of the community to enrich their lives as wage earners, as members of the society, and as residents of the world of leisure. These opportunities were provided through all of the educational programs as well as through non-credit courses, seminars, lectures, workshops and other educational and cultural activities.[1]

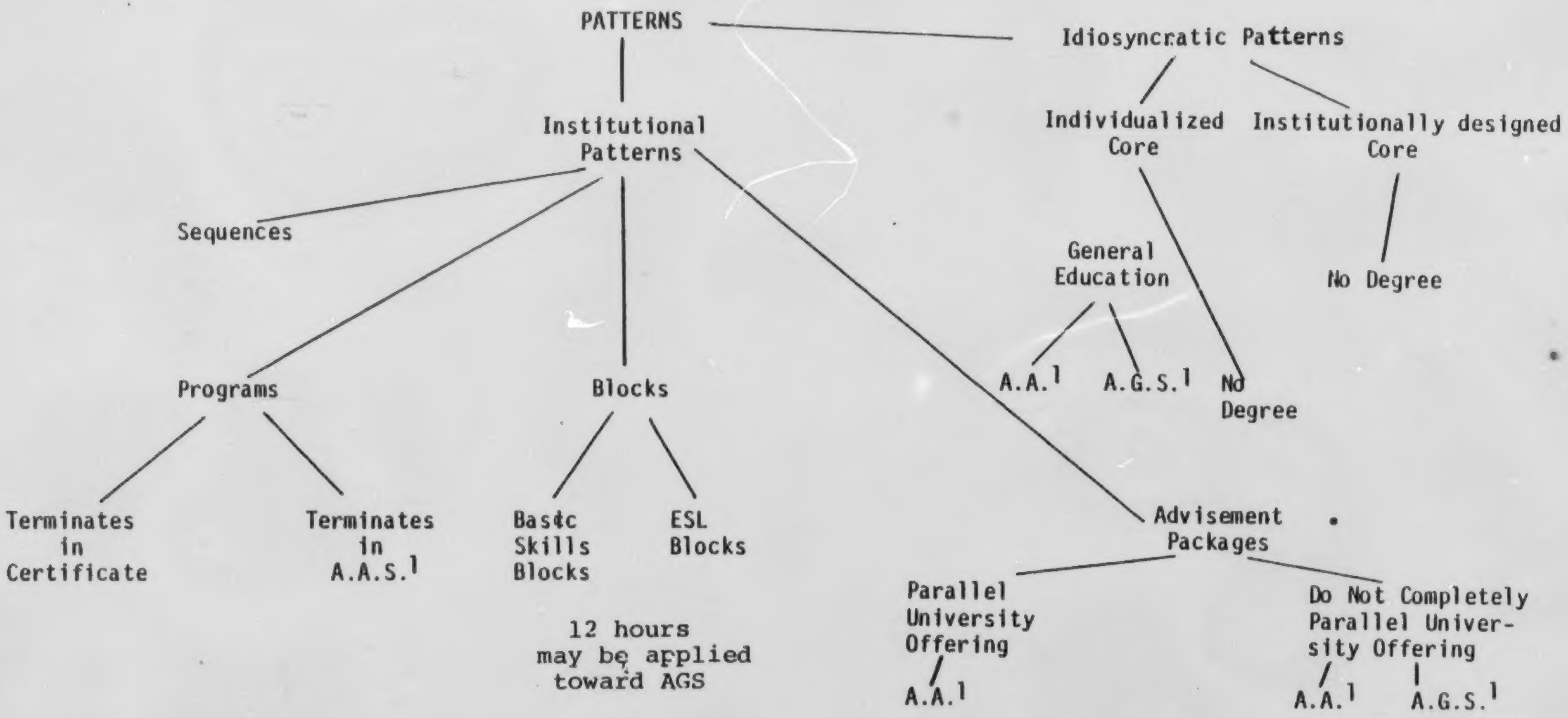
The relative priority accorded these program areas was the result of changing internal and external influences. At Oakwood's inception, its commitment was predominantly to transfer education; its rhetoric at that time clearly had the flavor of a liberal arts tradition. The college described its overall function as "the education of the whole man" and elaborated a "three-point program" to accomplish this purpose: 1) To help the development of individuals seeking maturity of mind and body; 2) To transmit to interested persons the accumulated wealth of our culture and traditions; and 3) To assist nonmatriculating students to update their knowledge and skills for a better adjustment to a changing world. Over the years, an increasing share of the college's curriculum was devoted to occupational education. Current enrollment and funding patterns suggested no diminution in the growth of this occupational component. Most recently, the college had indicated its intention to address the needs of new and nontraditional students as defined by Cross (1976) by allocating funds for "developmental education".

Oakwood, like other institutions in the Richfield District, drew its course offerings from the District course bank. The 1979-81 Oakwood catalog listed 760 courses. These courses were grouped into the patterns previously described and subsumed under the categories: transfer, occupational, and developmental. The decision to place a course in one of these categories was at least as much a fiscal as educational

Figure 4.3

A TYPOLOGY OF PATTERNS AT OAKWOOD COMMUNITY COLLEGE

[1] Includes the completion of the district-wide "General Education Requirements"


PATTERNS
Idiosyncratic Patterns
Institutional Patterns
Individualized Core
Institutionally designed Core
Sequences
General Education
No Degree
Programs
Blocks
A.A.[1]
A.G.S.[1]
No Degree
Terminates in Certificate
Terminates in A.A.S.[1]
Basic Skills Blocks
ESL Blocks
Advisement Packages
12 hours may be applied toward AGS
Parallel University Offering
A.A.[1]
Do Not Completely Parallel University Offering
A.A.[1]
A.G.S.[1]

1. Includes the completion of District-wide general education requirements.

Table 4.1

Courses, Degrees, Certificates and Advisement Packages at Oakwood, by Department

Department	Course Descriptor		Number of Courses Per Descriptor				A.A.S. Programs	Certificate Programs	A.A. Advisement Packages
			Level 0	100	200	T			
Admin. of Justice	Admin of Justice	(AJ)	0	19	16	35	AJ-Corrections (67)	n/a	n/a (?)
	Fire Science	(FS)	0	5	5	10	AJ-Evidence/Ident.		
	Quality Control	(QC)	0	4	10	14	AJ-Law Enforcement		
			0	28	31	59	Fire Science (69)		
				47%	53%		Quality Control Tech. (78)		
Agriculture/ Automotive	Aeronautics	(AE)	0	2	6	8	Agri-Bus. Sales & Serv(67)	Aut Chassis(72)	Prof Agri(70)
	Agriculture	(AG)	0	19	12	31	Agri. Prod.-Mid. Man.(67)	Aut. Eng & Dr Trains(72)	
	Automotive	(AU)	2	17	4	23	Ornamental Hort. & Landscaping (78)	Aut Tune-up/ Air Cond(78)	
			2	38	22	62	Automotive Tech.(72)		
			3%	61%	35%				
Art and Photography	Art	(AR)	0	19	12	31	n/a	n/a	College Art (66)
	Art Humanities	(AH)	0	4	0	4			Gen Art Curr.
	Photography	(PO)	0	5	6	11			Fine Arts(ACS 66)
			0	28	18	46			
				61%	39%				
Biology	Biology	(BI)	0	8	7	15	n/a	n/a	Biology (66)

Numbers in parentheses indicate the year in which a degree program, certificate program or advisement package was first offered.

(P) indicates "pending approval".

Table 4.1
Courses, Degrees, Certificates and Advisement Packages at Oakwood, by Department
(Continued)

Department	Course Descriptor		Number of Courses Per Descriptor Level 0	100	200	T	A.A.S. Programs	Certificate Programs	A.A. Advisement Packages
Business	Accounting	(AC)	0	4	4	8	Accounting Tech. (P)	Word Process(P)	Bus. Admin(66)
	Data Entry	(DE)	0	1	0	1	Banking and Fin. (74)		Accounting (80)
	Data Processing	(DP)	0	7	7	17	Clerical Ed. (66)		Marketing (80)
	Gen. Business	(GB)	0	8	8	16	Data Process (68)		
	Management	(MG)	0	3	9	12	Gen. Bus. (66)		
	Marketing	(MK)	0	0	5	5	Man. - Mat. & Dist. Man. (80)		
	Office Ed.	(OE)	3	11	10	24			
	Real Estate	(RL)	0	2	7	9	Man. - Mid. Man. (72)		
	Public Admin.	(PA)	0	3	2	5	Real Estate (74)		
	Public Relations	(PR)	0	2	0	2	Sec. Science (66)		
			3	41	52	96	Marketing Tech. (P)		
			3%	43%	54%				
Chemistry	Chemistry	(CH)	0	7	6	13	n/a	n/a	Chemistry (68)
				54%	46%				
Counseling	Counseling	(CO)	0	6	0	6	n/a	n/a	n/a
				100%					
Drafting	Bldg. Inspection	(BG)	0	1	1	2	Drafting Tech(72)	Drafting Tech(72)	n/a
	Civil Technology	(CT)	0	2	0	2	Drafting Tech-Const(72)		
	Drafting	(DT)	0	22	6	28	Drafting Tech-Manuf(72)		
			0	25	7	32			
				78%	22%				

Numbers in parentheses indicate the year in which a degree program, certificate program or advisement package was first offered.

(P) indicates "pending approval".

Table 4.1
Courses, Degrees, Certificates and Advisement Packages at Oakwood, by Department
(Continued)

Department	Course Descriptor		Number of Courses Per Descriptor Level 0	100	200	T	A.A.S. Programs	Certificate Programs	A.A. Advisement Packages
Electronics	Electronics	(EL)	0	22	11	33	Electronics Comp Tech(80)	n/a	n/a
				67%	33%		Electronics Engr Tech(66)		
							Electronics Tech(66)		
English	English	(EC)	8	10	6	24	n/a	n/a	English(66)
	English Hum.	(EH)	0	6	11	17			Journalism(66)
	Journalism	(JL)	0	2	3	5			
	Eng. as Sec Lang.	(SL)	3	0	0	3			
			11	18	20	49			
			22%	37%	41%				
Foreign Language	French	(FR)	0	4	4	8	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Spanish (2)	(SP)	0	8	5	13			
	Spanish Hist.(2)								
			0	12	9	21			
				57%	43%				
Home Economics	Home Economics	(HE)	1	29	12	42	n/a (?)	Child Dev(79)	Home Econ.(67)
			2%	69%	29%				

Numbers in parentheses indicate the year in which a degree program, certificate program or advisement package was first offered.

(P) indicates "pending approval".

Table 4.1
Courses, Degrees, Certificates and Advisement Packages at Oakwood, by Department
(Continued)

Department	Course Descriptor		Number of Courses Per Descriptor				A.A.S. Programs	Certificate Programs	A.A. Advisement Packages
			Level 0	100	200	T			
Instructional Materials Center	Library	(LB)	0	1	0	1	Library Tech(79)	n/a	n/a
	Library Tech.	(LT)	0	4	5	9	Indust. Tel.(P)		
	Non-Tech. Tel.	(TV)	0	2	0	2			
			0	7	5	12			
				58%	42%				
Mathematics	Mathematics	(MA)	3	16	3	22	n/a	n/a	n/a
			14%	73%	14%				
Music	Music	(MU)	0	7	4	11	n/a	n/a	Appl Music(66) Music Ed.(66)
	Music Perform.	(MP)	0	17	7	24			
				24	11	35			
				69%	31%				
Nursing	Nursing-Cont. Ed.	(NU)	0	5	6	11	Nursing (68)	n/a	n/a
	Nursing Science	(NS)	0	2	3	5			
			0	7	9	16			
				44%	56%				
Philosophy	Philosophy	(PI)	0	5	3	8	n/a	n/a	Philosophy(66)
				62%	37%				

Numbers in parentheses indicate the year in which a degree program, certificate program or advisement package was first offered.

(P) indicates "pending approval".

Table 4.1
Courses, Degrees, Certificates and Advisement Packages at Oakwood, by Department
(Continued)

Department	Course Descriptor		Number of Courses Per Descriptor				A.A.S. Programs	Certificate Programs	A.A. Advisement Packages
			Level 0	100	200	T			
Phys. Ed.	Health	(HL)	0	2	2	4	Prof Golf Man.(78)	n/a	Phys. Ed. (66)
	Health Rel.	(HR)	0	0	1	1			
	Phys. Ed.	(PE)	0	9	12	2	n/a	n/a	
	Recreation	(RC)	0	2	0	21			
			0	13	15	28			
				46%	54%				
Physical Science	Engineering Sci.	(ES)	0	3	3	6	n/a	n/a	Engineering(66)
	Geology	(GL)	0	7	5	12			Geology (68)
		(PL)	0	4	0	4			Physics (68)
		(PH)	0	6	0	6			
			0	20	8	28			
				71%	29%				
Psychology	Psychology	(PY)	1	13	9	23	n/a	n/a	Psychology (66)
			4%	57%	39%				
Reading	Reading	(RE)	13	6	1	20	n/a	n/a	n/a
			65%	30%	5%				

Numbers in parentheses indicate the year in which a degree program, certificate program or advisement package was first offered.
(P) indicates "pending approval".

Table 4.1
Courses, Degrees, Certificates and Advisement Packages at Oakwood, by Department
(Continued)

Department	Course Descriptor		Number of Courses Per Descriptor Level 0	100	200	T	A.A.S. Programs	Certificate Programs	A.A. Advisement Packages
Social Science	Anthropology	(AN)		3	1	4	Bilingual Tchr. Aide (76)	Bilingual Tchr Aide(79)	Economics (66)
	Economics	(EC)	0	1	3	4	Human Services (P)		Elementary Ed(66)
	Education	(ED)	0	1	10	11	-Admin. Asst-Intake Work		Secondary Ed.(66)
	Geography	(GE)	0	4	0	4	-Chem. Dependency-Couns Aide		History (66)
	History	(HI)	0	7	10	17	-Child Care Work -Tchr. Aide		Political Sci(66)
	Humanities	(HU)	0	2	0	2	-Disabled-Mental Health Aide		Social Work (73)
	Political Science	(PS)	0	3	5	8	-Gerontology-Admin Mgt. Aide		Sociology (66)
	Social Science	(SS)	0	1	0	1	-Gerontology-Rec Leis. Aide		
	Social Work	(SW)	0	4	2	6	-Parent Aide		
	Sociology	(SO)	0	9	4	13	-Rec. Specialist		
			0	35	35	70	-Social Worker (70)		
				50%	50%		-Youth Supervisor		
Speech/ Theatre Arts	Speech	(SE)	0	4	6	10	n/a	n/a	Speech (66)
	Theatre	(TH)	0	6	4	10			Theatre Arts(66)
				10	10	20			
				50%	50%				
Non-Departmental or Inter-Departmental	Military Science	(MS)	0	2	3	4	n/a	n/a	Ethnic Study(76)
				50%	50%				Pre-Forestry(66)
									Pre-Health (66)
									-Pre-Med/Pre-Dent
									-Pre-Optometry
									-Pre-Pharmacy
									-Pre-Phys. Ther..
									Pre-Law (66)

Numbers in parentheses indicate the year in which a degree program, certificate program or advisement package was first offered.

(P) indicates "pending approval".

decision. Courses qualifying for the coveted occupational classification received additional funding from the state. Courses offered for continuing education without credit received no state reimbursement. Developmental education was funded at the same level as transfer offerings. The practice was to qualify as many courses as the State Board review process would permit in the occupational education category. Whenever possible non-credit continuing education offerings were also "upgraded" to credit status. Breneman and Nelson (1981) have reported the prevalence of similar practices among community colleges nationwide as one response to the growing financial constraints.

As indicated in Table 4.1, courses were listed at three different academic levels: the "sub-100" or "developmental" level, the "100" or "introductory" level, and the "200" or "advanced" level. Administering a pattern of courses involved a dual function: designing and updating the pattern and, in the case of programs and blocks, maintaining a record of students who were using them. The extent to which departments actually exercised these functions was quite variable. The Business Department exercised both design and record keeping functions for all of its patterns. However, Administration of Justice had no design control over fire science or quality control and exercised only a minimal record keeping function. Programs having low department involvement were those offered primarily through the use of adjunct faculty. Typically the Dean of Occupational Education had major administrative responsibility for these programs and worked with someone from the local community for input or design. The fire chief provided major input on fire science as one example.

An examination of the relationships of patterns of courses to the departmental structure provided a limited number of clues to the origins of these organizational arrangements. Among the factors that seemed to contribute to the emergence and maintenance of departments were included: 1) size of course and pattern enrollments, 2) efficiency of operation, 3) willingness of the administration to pay someone to head a department, and 4) willingness of a faculty member acceptable to the administration and the faculty to assume a chairmanship.

All four of the major functional areas of instruction previously defined had been part of the Oakwood curriculum since its founding. As indicated in Table 4.1, the transfer program dominated the early years. All of the AA advisement packages had been approved by 1970 with the exception of social work (1973), ethnic studies (1976) and accounting and marketing (1980). The latter two were really elaborations of the business administration package which was established in 1966. By contrast the 1970s saw the establishment of no fewer than 14 AAS occupational programs and 6 certificate offerings. At the time the study concluded, an additional 12 career programs or options were pending. During the ten year period Oakwood experienced the same change in student preferences from transfer to occupational programs observed in similar institutions across the country.

Developmental education also expanded during the 1970s. By 1979, Oakwood offered 53 sections enrolling 1,240 students. Over 15 percent of the day students and 7 percent of evening students were enrolled in developmental courses. More than 3/4 of these were high school graduates. Twenty-two percent of the students in developmental courses were Mexican American, almost twice their percentage in the total student population. The changes in the developmental area were not confined to growth, however. From its inception, Oakwood offered developmental courses with a remedial focus as suggested by an early issue of the college catalog:

> "...Develop basic skills in fundamental areas to enhance the ability to succeed in more rigorous academic and career programs."

In 1979 the Developmental Education Task Force for the Richfield District with significant input from leaders on the Oakwood campus developed a new statement of purpose for the Report of the District Council on Educational Priorities. The new statement read as follows:

> "The purpose of the Developmental Studies Program is to prepare the citizen to better function in the larger society by strengthening basic societal skills. The return on this investment is an individual better able to seek employment, to further their education and to be a successful tax payer."

Several aspects of this statement deserve special attention. First, as stated elsewhere in the report, the intent was clearly to address "new" clientele without strong academic skills and "underprepared" for traditional college work (Cross, 1976; Moore, 1970). Second, the report clearly turned away from the remedial emphasis to focus on a broader definition of developmental encompassing in the words of Cross (1976) "the diverse talents of students whether academic or not". The purpose of developmental education according to the new definition was to focus on assisting students achieve their goals "to take students from where they are to where they want to go". This would be accomplished by providing both academic and human skills.

This report actually followed and was heavily influenced by the development of two new programs in Adult Basic Studies at Oakwood during the preceding year. In the Fall of 1979, six sections reflecting the new definition enrolled approximately 100 students. Of course, this left the remaining sections enrolling about 1,200 students with the earlier remedial emphasis. The adult basic skills program was offered in two 12 hour blocks and included special courses in reading, math, counseling and English. Students were placed in these blocks on the basis of test results. Also offered as part of the basic skills program was intensive English for Spanish speakers which was designed for students who had not developed reading and writing skills in their native tongue.

A final important characteristic of the Task Force Report was the similarity between the advantages claimed for developmental education and those traditionally attributed to literacy. The striking difference was that the Task Force proposed the achievement of these advantages with less rather than more emphasis upon the symbolic aspects of literacy. This difference was not lost upon many faculty who maintained an ambivalence toward the new programs. On the one hand they saw advantages in terms of the removal of students they regarded as unqualified from their own classes. On the other, they were concerned about the impact on the credibility of other college offerings as well as the possibility that the new program would compete for scarce resources once District discretionary dollars had been exhausted.

Faculty

The full time faculty at Oakwood were predominantly male (65 percent), experienced and heavily tenured. In 1976-77, just prior to being visited for reaccredition, Oakwood added 22 new faculty members. During the following three years, the most new hires in any year was three. Since the fourth contract was a tenure appointment, few faculty were in a provisional status. The Richfield policy called for full time staffing at 90 percent of the day program. Because almost as many student credit hours were generated in the evening as during the day, the policy resulted in more than half of the total instruction at Oakwood being offered by staff on adjunct appointments.

Table 4.2 provides comparative information on 10 of the 24 teaching departments at Oakwood. Most of the transfer oriented departments had a higher percentage of full time resident faculty than their share of the enrollment justified. Part of the imbalance resulted from the practice of staffing full time faculty in relation to the day enrollment only. Since evening enrollments, staffed exclusively by faculty on adjunct appointments, had been increasing more rapidly than day enrollments, the ratio of full time resident faculty to total full time student equivalents had steadily declined.

The transfer orientation of Oakwood faculty is evident in the numbers that possessed an earned doctorate. Thirty-five or more than 21

Table 4.2
A Comparison of Ten Departments at Oakwood: Number of Resident Faculty and Full Time Student Equivalents (FTSE)

Department	Resident Faculty		Full Time Student Equivalents					
			Day		Evening		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
English	24	15	456	11	129	5	585	8
Business	18	11	302	7	361	14	663	10
Physical Ed. [1]	14	9	146	3	106	4	252	4
Social Science	14	9	304	7	154	6	458	7
Mathematics	12	7	281	7	144	5	425	6
Psychology	8	5	242	6	88	3	330	5
Electronics	5	3	70	2	98	4	168	2
Reading	5	3	95	2	41	2	136	2
Philosophy	4	2	100	2	32	1	132	2
Automotives	2	1	63	1	81	3	144	2
Total	106	65	2059	48	1234	47	3293	48
Total, All Dept.	163[2]	100	4318	100	2630	100	6948	100

1. Includes Physical Education, Men and Physical Education, Women
2. Excludes 19 counselors and library staff

percent held this degree, a high percentage by community college standards. By 1979, Oakwood had about one fourth of its full time student equivalents enrolled in occupational courses. Reflecting the fact that much of the demand for occupational offerings was in the evening, only about one fifth of the resident faculty were in occupational areas. The difference between student orientations and preparation of resident faculty was even more striking when nursing was excluded. The nursing department because of state requirements had 21 percent of the resident faculty assigned to occupational areas but generated less than 10 percent of the occupation FTSE. The adjunct staff numbered 300 in the evening and 72 during the day in comparison with 163 full time teaching faculty.

There were few minorities among full time faculty, a situation which produced stress, as the minority student population and particularly Hispanics, continued to increase more rapidly than the college's total enrollment. The regular teaching load was 30-32 hours per year calculated according to a complex formula involving type of contact and class size. In addition to teaching responsibilities, faculty were expected to fulfill 30 hours of accountability per week including one scheduled office hour each day. Since arrangements for monitoring accountability were nonexistent, some faculty paid little attention to the policy including the keeping of scheduled office hours. Beyond regular loads, faculty were permitted to teach an additional nine load hours for extra pay during the academic year and six load hours during the summer. A significant number took advantage of this opportunity to increase incomes.

Faculty also received extra pay for such activities as coordinating co-op work experience, the foreign series, substituting for another member of the staff, supervision of the evening program, summer work other than teaching, non-classroom instructional activities, course management and coaching. The arrangements for extra compensation were quite comprehensive. The typical attitude of a faculty member at Oakwood was that if an out-of-class responsibility was not spelled out in the policies or if arrangements were not made for extra compensation, the activity did not need to be undertaken.

Faculty members at Oakwood were well paid and enjoyed good fringe benefits. They were allowed to advance on the salary schedule for travel, attendance at clinics, conferences and workshops, work experience and taking additional course work. The policy was particularly advantageous to faculty in occupational areas such as electronics and data processing, who were able to work summers at a higher rate of pay in industry and receive credit on the salary scale as well. The highest paid faculty member at Oakwood during 1979-80 earned more than $40,000.

Perhaps 15 percent of the faculty were engaged in conducting outside businesses. The flexible arrangements on accountability encouraged this type of activity. The opportunities for earning extra compensation made it difficult to recruit and retain administrators from the ranks of the faculty. The option of returning to the faculty possessed by most Oakwood administrators was frequently exercised resulting in a high rate of turnover among campus administrators below the level of President.

The most important faculty organization in the Richfield District was the Faculty Association. Historically, this group had represented faculty in governance issues and conducted negotiations on a district-wide basis for salaries and working conditions. In negotiations, the Association functioned as a de facto union. Unlike many community college districts, the faculty at Richfield exercised considerable influence on a broad range of issues. Much of the leadership, as well as many of the more vocal district faculty, were concentrated on the Oakwood campus leading to a view of the college by District administrators as a center of resistance to District priorities.

During 1978-79, serious conflict developed between the Faculty Association and the District administration and governing board as previously noted in Chapter 3. The time and energy expended on conflict with District administrators combined with the demands of dealing with internal dissension meant that active and influential faculty had little time to devote to issues related to the educational program and services of the college. By default, leadership in these areas fell to an already over burdened administrative staff. One response was the use of quasi-administrators as previously described.

The advantage of using quasi-administrators was the low cost and the appearance of faculty leadership in programmatic change. However, most of the changes initiated in this manner seemed to be quickly attenuated, perhaps in part because of the departure of the Dean who sponsored them to a District post. One consequence was frustration and a reduction in willingness among the most committed faculty to support administratively directed change efforts. The conflict between faculty and administrators placed quasi-administrators in difficult roles as the relationship of faculty to the District increasingly took on a management-labor appearance.

Students

Like many community colleges, Oakwood found the demographics of its student body undergoing significant change. The median age was older, more attended part time, an increasing percentage were women and educational objectives focused most frequently on the vocational offerings. Of greater import was the growing number of poorly prepared and limited English speaking students attending a college firmly rooted in the academic tradition and committed to baccalaureate oriented courses as its first priority.

Faculty reported significant changes in students during the previous five or six years. Mentioned were skill levels, motivation, the desire to learn and attitudes. Students were perceived as poor readers and writers. The lack of motivation and seriousness made it harder for faculty to derive satisfaction from teaching. One faculty member stated:

> "Students have come here with preconceived ideas and it's very difficult to break down these values before they are willing to look at new ideas. They do not see college as an open door to learning. They see college as perpetuation of the ideas they have had prior to coming here and they are actually resistant to new ideas. They are unable to express themselves orally; therefore, that transfers to the written word. If they are unable to express themselves orally, the classes more or less become dull. We can't even teach these courses that they love, that they take willingly, the so-called elective courses because they're not even stimulated by that."

Of the two cohesive minority groups at Oakwood, which together comprised about 15 percent of the total student population, the Chicanos were the more visible both in terms of numbers and political activity. Chicanos sat together in the cafeteria and spoke Spanish there and when they encountered each other on campus. They occupied highly visible work study positions in faculty offices and on the security staff. A special Chicano Services office was located in a prominent space in the cafeteria.

The success of the Chicano students in achieving the establishment of Chicano Services, served as a spur to Black students who brought pressure for the employment of a Black counselor to give greater attention to their needs. While some gains were recorded both at the District and College levels, the Black student group had more difficulty in making a case for special consideration because, in terms of characteristics and objectives, they tended more to resemble the dominant Anglo population. They also constituted less than 4 percent of the total student population in contrast to the more than 12 percent who were Chicanos.

Chicano students constituted three distinct groups. The first had Hispanic surnames but were either monolingual in English or were bilingual, English dominant. We were unable to distinguish between these students and other monolingual speakers of English. None of our evidence suggested that it was useful to differentiate among students on the basis of surname.

The second group was comprised of individuals who were monolingual speakers of Spanish. These students were served by a non-credit Saturday morning program and, to a lesser extent, through the basic skills program. The Saturday morning program was concerned with teaching students how to improve their command of spoken English. The basic skills program included, in addition to improvement in spoken English, instruction in reading and writing English. We found no evidence that monolingual speakers of Spanish progressed beyond these special, and essentially self-contained, programs. While the objectives cited by the college, in explaining the development of the basic skills program, included the possibility of moving into degree credit work, neither the students we observed nor the faculty who taught them, saw this as a realistic outcome.

The third group involved students who were bilingual, Spanish dominant. For the most part, these students did not seem to move through the system either. Exceptions to this general observation included what was described as a bilingual class in Electronics, but which was, in actuality, a class in which the instruction was offered in English but where the instructor understood Spanish and would respond in English to questions asked in Spanish. There was also some evidence of the bilingual, Spanish dominant student in courses such as Microbiology and Nutrition. The faculty teaching transfer courses reported that Spanish surnamed students in their courses were indistinguishable from their Anglo counterparts, suggesting that the majority of the students in advanced courses were English dominant. While we saw much evidence of adaptation of course demands in terms of efforts to emphasize functional uses of literacy, none of the adaptations we observed in degree oriented classes seemed specifically related to the needs of the bilingual, Spanish dominant student.

The absence of evidence of adaptation to the needs of students having special language problems beyond courses designed to teach improved English and a general movement of all course demands toward the functional end of the continuum and toward the lower cognitive level objectives, found its counterpart in the approach used by student support services. Basically, the assumption made in organizing student services was that a student could disaggregate a problem into its individual components and then access a series of services, each of which dealt with a particular aspect of the problem. Obviously, this required a level of sophistication that was not possessed by students in those courses where we observed concentrations of bilingual, spanish dominant individuals. For these individuals, Chicano Services provided an alternative which functioned either by bypassing traditional services or by serving as an intermediary for the student in using those services that could not be bypassed, such as Financial Aid.

Many student services staff as well as faculty resented the advocacy of Chicano Services and its ability to provide direct assistance to Chicanos in negotiating the Oakwood bureaucracy. Of special concern to faculty were those students who could not speak English and who were characterized by some as "bi-illiterate". This characterization was related to the Richfield emphasis on recruiting, including the use of announcements over the Spanish-speaking radio station. This outreach program had brought to the campus a number of migrant workers whose major aspiration was to learn enough English to improve their working conditions.

Oakwood Responses to District Goals

The Richfield District goals which had significant impact on administrative behavior at Oakwood included developmental education, student retention, occupational education and attracting and serving new clientele. These were, of course, the goals we have previously described as operative in the sense that they represented priorities among the dominant coalition for the use of discretionary resources. Oakwood administrators were expected to respond to these priorities by introducing changes to programs and services. Given the strength of the faculty and their tendency to prefer conditions as they had been, a certain amount of conflict was inevitable.

There did not appear to be any clear consensus among faculty and administrators about whom the college ought to serve, what should be done for those served, or the rationale for the answers to these two questions. At one end of the continuum were those who advocated the traditional, open access philosophy of Oakwood. The position was exemplified by such statements as: "We should accept all who come and try to help them even when they don't have a chance because they lack necessary skills to succeed," "The college should find out the goals of students and help them to achieve them," "The college should take students as far as they can go." Statements such as these most frequently came from administrators. Even among administrators who described these objectives, there were varying degrees of support for their achievement. What seems to best represent the consensus position was stated by one senior administrator: "We should serve the students as well as we are able." A number of administrators who supported this philosophy expressed concern about the availability of resources to serve the students then being enrolled as well as the possible effects of the diversion of available resources away from transfer and technical programs.

Not surprisingly, there were mixed perceptions about the priority of the developmental student at Oakwood. Among a large number of faculty and administrators, such students appeared to have low priority. However, the Dean of Instruction, who had been instrumental in encouraging faculty to improve services for developmental students, saw priorities shifting to accord developmental students greater emphasis. Oakwood staff felt the majority of administrators at the District level, with the exception of one vice chancellor, neither understood the needs of underprepared students nor accorded a particularly high priority to meeting them. Seemingly countering this perception was the behavior of the Chancellor when he made a planned visit to the campus. One of his scheduled activities was attendance at the meeting of the Administrative Council involving all of Oakwood's top administrators. The Chancellor arrived 45 minutes late for this meeting because he spent much of his time on campus at a meeting of the Committee on Developmental Education.

Faculty perceived District goals as "keeping the machinery operating" by offering anything that sold and by retaining a higher percentage of those who enrolled. They saw their own primary commitment focusing on the traditional student. Their position was not an absolute refusal to consider services for new student clientele. Rather, it represented concern about the availability of resources and the possibilities that using resources to address the needs of underprepared students would diminish the quality of what was done in the transfer program. This difference of opinion became particularly intense when faculty, unsympathetic to the concepts of developmental education, were asked to relinquish transfer courses to visiting staff so that they could become involved in teaching remedial students.

The District emphasis on retention was perceived by some as an extension of the concern with bodies rather than with education. These faculty found the college slogan used in advertising, "Oakwood is the right place to be" offensive and in their judgment, misleading. They felt the slogan promised the college would be all things to all people. Retention was also interpreted as attracting students to underenrolled classes.

Faculty concerns about the desirability and feasibility of serving remedial students were aggravated by their perceptions of District objectives as growth for the sake of becoming larger. Faculty believed

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that enrollment growth was always the first concern of administrators as evidenced through such statements as "...bodies are money. The District can translate these into full time equivalencies and the state pays for them." The District emphasis on enrolling underprepared students was seen as a response to the alternative of a declining enrollment. Similar motivation was attributed to the priority placed on reducing attrition. Many faculty perceived this as an alternative strategy to the recruitment of more students.

Faculty engaged in carrying out special activities related to developmental education felt they often encountered actual hostility from their campus colleagues who remained committed to a more restricted view of what constituted an appropriate range of programs and clientele for a college. Service on District committees and councils did not carry the same stigma as involvement in implementing District priorities since these councils and committees often were the battlegrounds where faculty fought and sometimes won such issues as the right to continue to determine hiring qualifications for new faculty.

Administrative Strategies

Oakwood objectives then were strongly influenced by signals emanating from the District office. Complicating the process of understanding efforts to achieve District priorities, however, was evidence that the most important consideration was offering courses which produced rather than used revenue. Even classes established for developmental students with the most serious reading deficiencies were expected to enroll 25 students. Some were overenrolled in order to improve the chances that all would pay their own way. The emphasis on increasing revenues also affected the development of technical programs. Most new programs observed at Oakwood and on other campuses of the District, seemed to involve recombinations of existing courses with new labels attached in order to attract additional students. Because of the constant concern about fiscal restraints, even when addressing the highest District priorities, many faculty and some administrators at Oakwood perceived the top priority of District administration as keeping the District solvent.

Additional income generated by increases in enrollment did not automatically flow to campus programs and services. After one particularly large increase in full time equivalent students, a faculty representative to the Oakwood Administrative Council asked whether the increase would result in more funds for student activities and services. The President responded that additional classes would be staffed but the remainder of the money would find a happy home in the District Building Fund. Several administrators felt the District would continue to serve more students with less money until something broke. "We're at the straining point now. We are admitting deaf students and they require an enormous amount of assistance and it's very expensive." Supplies and equipment seemed to be less of a problem than space and staff, although even here a number of problems emerged. A library staff member indicated that the book budget had remained at $15,000 for six years and the majority of that amount had to be used to replace books stolen or damaged. English faculty members talked about the problems of obtaining paper, interspersing their comments with caustic remarks about recruiting brochures mailed every other week.

Concern about the availability of resources dominated administrative behavior. The state funding practice of basing reimbursement on a census taken in the sixth week of classes led administrators to encourage faculty to be certain students did not drop out prior to the time they were counted for funding eligibility. Despite faculty comments, the problem was not so much one of an immediate absence of essential materials as a prevailing attitude on the part of administrators and faculty that the District was unable to fund more than a minimal response unless a specific change had previously been defined by key administrators as having an extremely high priority. The imbalance of students and resources was said by some faculty and administrators to be growing steadily worse as a result of recruiting. The perceived imbalance accounted for much of the faculty and administrative resistance at Oakwood to recruitment and services for underprepared students. There was also concern about the extent of programs and services for such students being funded by outside grants and the future of such programs and services when funding was discontinued.

The problem did not improve with the adoption of the 1980-81 budget. While the budget for Oakwood increased by approximately eleven percent, Richfield granted salary increases in excess of twelve percent. As a consequence, Oakwood's requests for additional personnel to help achieve programmatic priorities and to compensate for increases in enrollment could not be approved. For the 1980-81 year, Oakwood was staffed at about the same level as the preceding year despite an increase in the number of students that exceeded seven percent. The campus analysis of the budget increase indicated that it would barely cover the salary increases. The President reported that it would not be possible to hire new people and a counselor placed on disability probably also would not be replaced. Additional evidence of growing fiscal stress, resulting in part from legislative action to limit Governing Board taxing powers, was provided by the decision to appoint a committee to study the underfinancing of the library and a commission to study the future of financing for the Richfield District.

Most formal planning on the campus involved responding to District imperatives or dealing with circumstances which, if not already a crisis, seemed likely to become one. Richfield had no tradition of involving campus personnel in planning. The formal process of establishing objectives and assigning priorities to their achievement, introduced by the new Chancellor under the auspices of the Joint Council on Educational Priorities, was, therefore, an unfamiliar one to Oakwood administrators. While Oakwood produced a plan which complied with District expectations, it was the perception of Oakwood administrators that the plan was never read by District administrators.

As a result of these and other factors, administrative efforts to achieve operative objectives were subject to a number of constraints including the level of staffing and the experiences and value preferences of those in positions of responsibility. The high degree of centralization prior to the arrival of the new Chancellor had left Oakwood with a staffing level better suited to implementing decisions reached elsewhere than assuming major responsibility for developing new initiatives. In addition, Oakwood administrators, with few exceptions, had come through the ranks of the faculty and shared faculty preferences for avoiding change unless the need and desired direction were clearly established.

Ultimately, however, the most serious constraint was the inability to acquire additional resources at the college level to permit staffing and support of proposals for change. This caused Oakwood administrators to exercise the utmost ingenuity in complying with District mandates while maintaining the existing operation without additional resources. In one example, the District conducted workshops and mandated the development of a "marketing approach" at each college to expand services and to identify potential new clientele. Oakwood administrators prepared their plan for compliance and included a request for the necessary funding in their proposed budget. When funding for the plan was eliminated, a decision was made to rename an existing committee as the "Task Force on Marketing" called for by the District mandate. In this way, the College was able to give an appearance of compliance while continuing to devote available resources to maintaining their operation.

Despite the growing disparity between objectives and available resources, Oakwood was heavily involved in District planning for the expansion of facilities. In terms of the expansion, Oakwood administrators faced a dilemma. Their existing facilities were overcrowded and enrollment continued to grow. However, part of Richfield's strategy to develop new facilities was the use of funds generated by enrollment increases. Such funds could also have been used for additional staff and the improvement of services. Oakwood administrators supported both the development of new facilities and the improvement of services with the expectation that ultimately they would not be forced to choose between the two.

Priorities for Oakwood in responding to District objectives were determined primarily by the President and Dean of Instruction who involved faculty to the extent of testing proposals to ensure they would not result in active resistance. One administrator summarized the process, "faculty are involved in discussing objectives but administrators determine priorities." Once priorities were established and available resources allocated, Oakwood administrators, with or without the assistance of faculty committees, developed plans for implementation in their own areas of responsibility. Even where committees were not involved, there was a considerable amount of informal consultation with faculty. The process was to throw out ideas and listen. It was described by administrators as cumbersome but workable.

The strategy of using adjunct faculty either on existing campuses or in the new college-without-walls represented one of the most sensitive issues dividing administrators and faculty in the Richfield District. From the District perspective, this was an economical and flexible procedure for expanding services. From the faculty member's perspective, it demeaned what they did by proceeding from the assumption that anyone could come in, throw together a few assignments, and be credited with providing the same level of instructional services as those provided by the full time faculty. Through the use of part time visiting staff, the District in the eyes of the faculty, undervalued them and their efforts. The threat was perceived as financial, personal and professional.

The issue had important implications for the achievement of operative goals at Oakwood. Theoretically, full time faculty could be given released time to participate in the development of new thrusts such as the basic skills program. The courses resulting from reductions in teaching loads would then be staffed by the much less costly adjuncts. Thus, development of new programs and services required by the changing student clientele could be accomplished by full time faculty while being financed at less than the income generated from the enrollments. In practice, most faculty avoided the more difficult program development or teaching responsibilities even when provided with the additional inducement of summer employment. Beyond refusing to participate in the practice, they made life difficult for those who did.

Faculty Support for Richfield District

As previously noted, many faculty opposed what they perceived as District priorities. They felt quality of instruction and reputation of the College had been damaged by the stress on increasing full time student equivalents and the recruitment of poorly prepared students. They disagreed with the practice of providing credit toward an associate degree for courses designed to help students improve reading, writing and mathematics skills at very basic levels. Faculty also believed the causes of attrition were largely out of their hands and related to such factors as transportation, family problems and jobs. Finally they were concerned about the impact on transfer and occupational programs of diverting scarce resources to serve new clientele.

During the period of this study District administrators supported four major priorities with important implications for the educational programs and services of constituent colleges. Each of these priorities through the educational programs and services contributed in significant ways to our observations of literacy and the process through which it was defined and adapted as described in the following chapters. The decision to recruit new clientele brought to the campus students with different objectives and skills from the clientele traditionally served. The emphasis on retention and the preservation of attrition statistics on a class by class basis by administrators placed pressure on faculty to avoid literacy demands that would have resulted in student loss commensurate with the changes in student characteristics. The emphasis on developmental education and, in particular, the redefinition of the purposes of courses for underprepared students to include emphasis on objectives not directly related to academic achievement exerted pressure on faculty to continue the process of reexamining their own expectations of student reading and writing behavior. Finally the concern with occupational education contributed to the trend we observed toward a functional definition of literacy closely attuned to student objectives and the context within which learning occurred.

While administrators established priorities and used the strategies at their command to encourage institutional movement toward them; in the final analysis, it was the willingness of faculty and other staff to implement priorities that determined the effectiveness of the results. Elsewhere we have described this willingness to support institutional priorities as encompassing 1) agreement with their relative importance 2) active support for their achievement 3) expressed loyalty to the priorities and 4) agreement that progress is being made in their achievement. Given the priorities established and the methods through which they were identified and supported both at the District and campus level, how committed were Oakwood faculty to District priorities?

Some faculty seemed to be opposed on principal, to serving underprepared students. In one extreme incident, a faculty member stood up in a meeting of the College Senate and stated that faculty members were prostituting themselves by providing services to developmental students. The faculty member then left the room in anger. For most faculty at Oakwood, however, the issue was economic rather than philosophical. They believed that resources were already stretched past the breaking point and that developing services for new students inevitably would result in fewer resources to serve the ones already there.

The majority of faculty were described by administrators as not supporting the open access philosophy. The faculty position was attributed to the history of the college and the fact that Oakwood had been a predominantly transfer institution. Interviews with faculty, however, suggested that their objections to the open access philosophy centered around two concerns: the availability of resources and the probability of success for the more limited students. Aside from the philosophical issue about whether low ability students should be admitted at all, there was no agreement on what should happen to students as a result of enrollment in developmental programs designed for the underprepared. Even among faculty teaching in the same department, there was lack of agreement about what developmental programs ought to achieve and whether or not the students enrolled in such programs should even be served by the college.

Faculty who worked directly with non-English speaking and underprepared students appeared compassionate and concerned. Derogatory statements came largely from faculty who had little or no contact with the students they criticized. Nevertheless, the attitudes and comments of the majority of the faculty who did not work with seriously underprepared students increased the pressures on those who did and contributed to the impression that the latter were somehow or other engaged in teaching subject matter and students whose presence in a community college was highly suspect.

Faculty not only disagreed with administrators about the desirability of District priorities but, in addition, were divided among themselves. One alternative was withdrawal. Some dropped their committee assignments and memberships in the Faculty Association or the state affiliate of NEA. Some spent little time with their students and left the campus as soon as possible after completing teaching responsibilities. Observations of faculty parking lots and attempts to see faculty during scheduled office hours confirmed the difficulty of finding them on campus.

Chairs in two departments reported significant stress among faculty required to work with students different from those they were recruited to teach. Absence rates for illness were described as "overwhelming" and attributed to workload and absence of adequate support. A number of faculty in interviews described their withdrawal from campus activities as "burn out". One elaborated,

> "I believe teaching effectiveness is directly related to feelings of burn-out. If I have a student who is experiencing personal problems, that student can't give everything to the class and that affects his performance. I feel we have a vicious circle going here on campus as burn-out affects faculty. It affects their effectiveness in the classroom. Burn-out is almost universal on this campus and others. It affects our performance and word gets around."

Other faculty responded in a different way. Some leaders of the Faculty Association seized every opportunity to be critical of administrators and their priorities. Departments such as math and social science, where participation rates in staff development activities were low also had disproportionate numbers of vocal critics. Periodically, faculty leaked damaging information to board members or developed position papers with the intent of sabotaging administrative priorities. Accuracy was not always a primary consideration. Despite the relatively small number of faculty who functioned in this role, they appeared to exercise a disproportionate influence on the somewhat larger number who worked to achieve administrative goals.

Hirschman's (1970) concepts of exit, voice and loyalty were useful in describing the faculty at Oakwood. Because of the current job market for faculty, the exit option was acted out through withdrawal from all activities except those related directly to the classroom or required by written faculty policies. The concept of "exit" seemed more accurate than the more popular "burned out" often used by faculty in referring to themselves. Faculty exercising the exit option frequently remained committed to their colleagues, to the students whom they believed belonged at Oakwood, and to their teaching. They were simply unreachable insofar as institutional priorities were concerned. Because they were unreachable regardless of the strategies administrators employed, there was no way of altering their behavior as a result of administrative initiative.

Faculty we classified as loyal to institutional priorities tended to be those more recently employed, partly because candidates for new faculty positions were carefully screened to be certain they possessed both the competencies and the attitudes required to contribute to institutional priorities. Because of a relatively recent emphasis on affirmative action, new faculty groups also contained a disproportionate percentage of women and minorities. Over time, there was a tendency for loyal faculty to move toward the exit option as they encountered limited resources, passive resistance or indifference from a majority of the faculty and active resistance from the third or "voice group" of the faculty.

Faculty exercising the voice option resisted actively and verbally the achievement of institutional priorities through their departments and the Faculty Association. This group received a high percentage of total administrative attention despite their limited numbers because they were so visible. Administrators acted to combat the criticism when it surfaced, to prevent it from surfacing when possible, and to move critics to positions where they could do the least amount of harm. Faculty in the voice category were often committed to the institution despite the discrepancies between their values and those of the dominant coalition. As a kind of "loyal opposition", they contributed to the process of adaptation by keeping administrators aware of the limits of acceptable change without incurring unacceptable costs.

Throughout the study, key administrators suggested that Oakwood faculty were different from other faculty in the District in that they were more resistant to District priorities. Faculty at Oakwood questioned the commitment of administrators. Finally our own studies produced different estimates of the numbers that could be found in each category. To provide additional information about faculty and administrative attitudes toward District priorities a survey was developed from issues raised by the field study and administered in the Fall of 1980.

Table 4.3 provides information about attitudes of Oakwood faculty in comparison with all faculty in the Richfield District. Oakwood faculty in contrast with their reputation among key administrators expressed higher than average commitment to District priorities in three of the four areas. The difference was particularly marked for developmental education where Oakwood had assumed a leadership role in the District. Interestingly there was also a higher percentage of faculty at Oakwood actively expressing opposition to developmental education then for the District as a whole suggesting that progress in achieving a priority will mobilize the opposition as well as the support. Oakwood was not the most enthusiastic campus in terms of the priority for serving new clientele, a fact that was abundantly clear from the ethnographic data as well as the survey. Again the lack of enthusiasm seemed to be related to Oakwood's experience as a campus that was receiving more than its perceived share of nontraditional students. This observation is underscored by a comment from an Oakwood administrator in a meeting of the Administrative Council discussing the greater than anticipated success of the new basic skills program: "we're becoming a dumping ground for the District," then he quickly corrected himself, "I mean a magnet school."

The ambivalence of Oakwood administrators about some District priorities as well as the differences of opinion among administrators is clearly revealed in Table 4.4 which compares Oakwood administrators with the administrators in the Richfield District. Oakwood administrators expressed loyalty to student retention and occupational education in smaller percentages than other District administrators or Oakwood faculty. Of greatest interest, however, was the high percentage opposed to developmental education exceeding by far the percentages opposed among other District administrators and among Oakwood faculty. There were grounds for the perceptions of Oakwood faculty that a low level of commitment to developmental education existed among both Oakwood and other District administrators.

The number of loyal faculty or administrators varied both with the priority and with the amount of progress being made in its achievement. Categorizing faculty or administrators other than in terms of specific priorities would seem, therefore, to be a risky process. The same faculty member or administrator exercising voice in the area of developmental education might be in the exit category or even demonstrating loyalty in less controversial areas such as student retention or occupational education. The evidence on commitment supports our previous discussion of coalition theory to explain how individuals and groups coalesce around specific issues and disband when these are no longer important.

The exit or uncommitted category included a majority of Oakwood and District faculty for all priorities. Significantly this category also included a majority of Oakwood administrators on three of four priorities and of all administrators in the District on two of four priorities. Only the priorities of "serving new clientele" and "occupational education" received strong support from half or more of the administrators in the District. No priority achieved this level of commitment among administrators at Oakwood. Clearly the problem of achieving commitment to institutional priorities was by no means limited to the faculty.

Table 4.5 provides another view of commitment to priorities within the Richfield District. Oakwood department chairs reported less commitment than other chairs in the District. They were also less committed on the average than Oakwood faculty to all priorities except occupational education. Like Oakwood administrators they tended to be uncommitted or even somewhat opposed to developmental education.

Table 4.3

Faculty Commitment to District Priorities: A Comparison Between Oakwood Faculty and Other Faculty in the Richfield District

Operative Goals (Priorities)	Oakwood Faculty n = 49			All Other Faculty n = 193		
	Loayalty %	Exit %	Voice %	Loyalty %	Exit %	Voice %
Serving New Clientele	25	71	4	27	65	8
Developmental Education	35	55	10	21	70	9
Student Retention	47	51	2	36	57	7
Occupational Education	43	53	4	37	57	6

Loyalty 3.8 - 5 (5 = Strongly Committed)

Exit 2.6 - 3.79 (3 = Uncommitted)

Voice 1 - 2.59 (1 = Strongly Oppose)

Table 4.4

Administrative Commitment to District Priorities: A Comparison Between Oakwood Administrators and Other Administrators in the Richfield District

Operative Goals (Priorities)	Oakwood Administration n = 7			All Other District Administration n = 115		
	Loyalty %	Exit %	Voice %	Loyalty %	Exit %	Voice %
Serving New Clientele	43	57	0	50	45	5
Developmental Education	43	0	57	30	63	7
Student Retention	29	57	14	41	55	4
Occupational Education	29	57	14	50	44	5

Loyalty 3.8 - 5 (5 = Strongly Committed)

Exit 2.6 - 3.79 (3 = Uncommitted)

Voice 1 - 2.59 (1 = Strongly Opposed)

Table 4.5

Commitment to District Priorities: A Comparison Between Oakwood Faculty, Oakwood Administrators and Other District Professional Staff

Operative Goals (Priorities)	District Office n=43		Oakwood Administrators n=7		District Faculty n=242		Oakwood Faculty n=47		District Depart. Chairs n=37		Oakwood Depart. Chairs n=8	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Serving New Clientele	3.79	1.0	4.16	.74	3.71	1.04	3.69	.97	3.69	.93	3.33	1.07
Developmental Education	3.63	1.09	2.84	1.85	3.60	1.09	3.59	1.20	3.45	.93	2.77	1.38
Student Retention	3.92	.96	3.31	1.64	3.95	.98	4.13	.75	3.85	.72	3.70	.79
Occupational Education	4.15	.90	3.51	1.61	3.88	1.04	3.94	.90	4.24	. 3	4.03	.63

5 = Strongly Committed

2 = Uncommitted

1 = Strongly Opposed

The amount of controversy over developmental education is evident from the high standard deviations for this response from among both administrators and faculty at Oakwood and in the District. Significantly, this is the only District priority where the mean response for faculty indicated a stronger level of commitment than the mean response for administrators. This result suggests that faculty perceptions of relatively low administrative support for developmental education had some basis in corresponding administrative attitudes. It was also interesting to note that Oakwood administrators supported the priority of serving new clientele more strongly than either their faculty or District office administrators. Since the Oakwood budget was directly related to their enrollments and the major criterion for college success in the Richfield District during the study was enrollment growth, this finding was not surprising. The fact that the dominant coalition supported this priority much more strongly than other members of the District office bureaucracy also helps to account for actions taken by the Chancellor in the Fall of 1980 to challenge administrators to define the contributions of their offices to District objectives and priorities in writing.

There was also evidence of the emerging emphasis on occupational education which began relatively late in the study. Administrative commitment to this priority, which had become the most important in the District by the time the study ended, was clear. The history of Richfield's older comprehensive colleges, such as Oakwood as predominantly transfer institutions was also evident in faculty responses which gave this priority less support than administrators. District administrators recognized the problems posed by faculty resistance to their priorities. Specific strategies were employed to neutralize or overcome resistance.

For purposes of our quantitative study we defined and classified administrative strategies for achieving change in the educational program under several categories: participation, reorganization, planning, adding new staff, staff development, evaluation and resource allocation. Table 4.6 indicates how faculty perceptions of administrative use of these strategies related to their expressed levels of commitment for each District priority. Also considered in our analysis was the influence of demographic variables and the results of the communication net survey abbreviated in the table as the "number of times listed" (how many times an individual was named as a contact) and "contacts listed" (the number of individuals listed as regular contacts in terms of a specific priority).

For three of the four priorities, those expressing commitment also reported that a lack of funds made achievement of the priority difficult. Only in the area of serving new clientele was this not a factor reflecting perhaps what was described as more than adequate District recruiting and publicity budgets. Evaluation was not a perceived administrative strategy in terms of any of the priorities, a finding that coincided closely with our ethnographic observations of a lack of concern with measured outcomes.

By contrast staff development was a major administrative strategy both for reducing levels of conflict and for achieving priorities. Changes suggested to the faculty through staff development activities included innovative teaching, provision of more help to students and the creation of new courses and programs.

While our initial evaluation of staff development activities indicated that this strategy impacted a relatively limited number of faculty and that most of these were already favorably disposed toward serving new clientele and in possession of many of the required skills, the results of the attitude survey taken at a later point in time were quite surprising, especially when we used stepwise multiple regression to ask the question of which among a series of demographic and process variables made the greatest contribution to prediction of faculty commitment at Oakwood for each of the four major District operative priorities.

Table 4.6

Stepwise Multiple Regression: Demographic Characteristics, Participation, and Communication Frequencies and Perceptions of Administrative Strategies Regressed on Commitment for Oakwood Faculty

	SERVING NEW CLIENTELE			DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION			STUDENT RETENTION			OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION		
	Order	R square	Simple R	Order	R square	Simple R	Order	R square	Simple R	Order	R square	Simple R
PARTICIPATION FREQUENCY	1	.1961	+.4429									
APPLIED SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY/ ALLIED HEALTH	2	.0625	-.3092	2	.1000	-.5093	3	.0490	+.0445			
REORGANIZATION	3	.0446	+.3356									
SEX	4	.0591	+.3610	9	.0107	+.2397				1	.1724	+.4152
PLANNING				3	.0679	+.5897						
NEW STAFF				4	.0803	+.0427	4	.0380	-.0715	2	.0730	-.2239
SOCIAL SCIENCE				8	.0122	-.0626						
BUSINESS				7	.0175	-.0617						
STAFF DEVELOPMENT				1	.4009	+.6332	1	.1911	+.4371			
NUMBER OF TIMES LISTED												
CONTACTS LISTED				6	.0282	+.0371						
EVALUATION												
PROGRESS												
LACK FUNDS				5	.0540	+.5062	2	.0458	+.2872	3	.1067	+.2083

Table 4.6
(Continued)

Stepwise Multiple Regression: Demographic Characteristics, Participation, and Communication Frequencies and Perceptions of Administrative Strategies Regressed on Commitment for Oakwood Faculty

	SERVING NEW CLIENTELE			DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION			STUDENT RETENTION			OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION		
	Order	R square	Simple R	Order	R square	Simple R	Order	R square	Simple R	Order	R square	Simple R
MATH & SCIENCE										4	.0618	-.2355
TENURE										6	.0267	-.0826
LIBERAL ARTS/ HUMANITIES												
AGE										5	.0359	+.0810
CUMMULATIVE R SQUARE		.3624			.7720			.3238			.4764	
MULTIPLE R		.6020			.8784			.5690			.6902	

N = 47

The staff development program at Oakwood focused on developmental education with the implications this had for student retention. For operative objectives related to developmental education and student retention, faculty perceptions of the use of staff development activities as a strategy was the most significant predictor of commitment. For both priorities, more than half of the total explained variance was associated with this variable. Also key was the fact that perceiving a lack of adequate funds was a significant predictor of commitment. Without exception, committed faculty in the developmental programs had complained about inadequate fiscal resources.

Just as important, from the standpoint of our relatively small sample, was the finding that staff development did not appear as a significant predictor for commitment to the other two priorities where there was much less or no emphasis on staff development activities. There was a marketing task force at Oakwood working on the priority related to serving new clientele, a fact which seems related to frequency of participation in College or District activities as a predictor of commitment in this area. Perceptions of the use of reorganization as an administrative strategy was also significantly related to commitment level in serving new clientele, a finding that seemed obvious from our previous observation that the major District strategy in this area was establishing a new college-without-walls. Also significant were the perceptions of administrative use of planning as a strategy in achieving developmental education priorities. We earlier had concluded that this was the only area in which sufficient District and college planning had occurred prior to our study for the process to be readily visible to the faculty.

The District theme for staff development for 1979-80 was student retention and seven activities were carried out reflecting this theme. The attendance rate at these activities for faculty from Oakwood was 14 percent, a lower rate than from any of the other colleges. Some of the activities related directly to students; analyzing teaching techniques, math anxiety and avoidance, needs of the visually and hearing-impaired students and training developmental studies personnel. In a study of participation by a District administrator, faculty in math and social science were the most resistant to staff development activities while faculty in the business and career programs were the most likely to participate. Interviews confirmed the greater impact of underprepared students on the departments with the lowest rates of participation. These were also the departments where faculty exhibited the greatest amount of active resistance to District priorities.

Our comparison of staff development as a predictor of commitment in the attitude survey with the relatively low levels of participation from Oakwood faculty led to several revised conclusions about the role of staff development and participation in relation to faculty commitment. First, we came to believe that offering an extensive and highly visible program of staff development helped to alter normative expectations about the worth of these activities even among faculty who did not participate. This strategy would seem to offer promise particularly at an institution like Oakwood where faculty commitment to previous institutional priorities such as the transfer program had the capability of interfering with efforts to achieve priorities related to nontraditional students. Salancik emphasizes the relationship between declining commitment and responsiveness to new initiatives (Salancik, 1977, p. 47). As a result of the regression analysis, we also concluded that our survey sample was biased in the direction of including more faculty who participated in College and District committees and other activities than was characteristic of the population at large. Thus, our survey probaby overstated the level of commitment for the faculty as a group.

The administrative strategy of adding new staff also contributed significantly to predicting commitment in three areas. In occupational education commitment was strongly related in a negative direction with this strategy reflecting the fact that this area was understaffed in terms of resident faculty in comparison with the student credit hours they generated. In addition, proposed new occupational programs such as hotel, motel and restaurant management had been held in abeyance because of the inability to hire new full time staff. Developmental education in which there was a modest positive correlation between commitment and adding new staff had been the beneficiary of most of the new staff hired at Oakwood after 1977.

Among the demographic variables, commitment to priorities other than student retention was associated with being male. Being a member of a department in the areas of applied science, technology and allied health was strongly related in a negative direction to commitment to developmental education or serving new clientele. Since faculty members in these areas frequently administered selective admissions criteria and were evaluated according to the performance of their graduates on licensing examinations or in specific career settings, this relationship was understandable. In general the regression analysis of the survey data supported the hypotheses emerging from our qualitative studies.

There are no standards for determining when levels of commitment become sufficiently low among faculty or administrators to endanger achievement of organizational priorities. Similarly the extent to which commitment to previous competing priorities interferes with the attempt to introduce new priorities is also uncharted. Organizations interested in achieving directed changes in educational programs and services as in the case of the Richfield District must find ways of developing commitment among enough staff to implement new priorities effectively. Simultaneously they must find ways of reducing commitment to preexisting competing priorities in order to produce a non-hostile environment for the changes to take root. At Oakwood more progress had been made with faculty than with administrators in the critical area of developmental education as evidenced by the relative percentages of the two groups exercising the voice option in this area. The fact that one fourth of the faculty were committed to serving new clientele and one third to developmental education indicated substantial support for these priorities, particularly in view of the relatively limited number of faculty interested in providing active opposition. However, department chairs who might have provided leadership reported lower levels of commitment to all priorities than any other group. In effect, leadership for change came from a deeply divided administrative staff and from quasi-administrators whose lack of administrative authority made them easy targets for faculty opposition.

Administrative efforts to achieve or prevent changes in educational programs and services affect faculty attitudes by redefining institutional norms. Through use of communication nets and the resource allocation process they define the institutionally desired balance between serving all students to some minimum level or serving a more selected clientele to some higher level of definable outcomes. Administrative decisions affect class size, faculty workload, availability of learning aids, and the time requirements within which learning must occur. The web of administrative decisions and the methods of communicating and enforcing them contributes in a major way to the context within which literacy functions in a community college.

We began this chapter by suggesting our interest in looking at the patterns through which faculty and administrators concerned with initiating or preventing change interacted to influence the learning and service environments where direct observation of reading and writing was done. We will conclude with observations about the change process at Oakwood and the scorecard for changes having implications for literacy.

Stability and Change at Oakwood

Key administrators in the Richfield District established four operative goals or priorities for directed change in educational programs and services during the course of this study. Responding to perceived forces in the external environment, including fiscal constraints and a reduction in the pool of traditional students, the priorities were designed to attract greater numbers of nontraditional students to offset the loss in numbers of traditional clientele and to retain a higher percentage of those admitted through developing educational programs and services responsive to their interests and abilities. The programmatic responses at Oakwood addressing these priorities included new developmental educational offerings and more emphasis on occupational education. Both priorities and programmatic responses tended to push institutional emphasis toward the functional end of the literacy continuum. This process aggravated concerns among faculty and some administrators committed to serving a more traditional clientele with greater emphasis on the symbolic aspects of literacy. The concern became particularly acute as Richfield District experienced the fiscal constraints of the late seventies and early eighties.

Given these priorities and constraints, the rules for change at Oakwood were the following: 1) disregard a problem as long as possible. (This statement applied because of limited resources.) 2) Use an incremental approach when dealing with a problem that has been identified as requiring attention. (For example, the Learning Assistance Center was built on tutoring services which were already known and accepted.) 3) Test the market; that is, consult carefully with faculty or anyone else that may be involved but don't commit yourself. 4) Use existing staff whenever possible; don't bring outsiders in if you can find other ways to get the job done. 5) Don't evaluate. 6) Don't make plans for the maintenance of change. If something is worthwhile, it will continue.

Many of these rules contrasted sharply with the approach used by the District in the 1978-79 year. During that period, the District was committed to major change, used many outside consultants, and attempted to identify problem areas and to deal with them aggressively. This placed severe pressure on Oakwood administrators since it was literally impossible for them to conform to District approaches and still maintain an effective working relationship with the Oakwood faculty. The situation eased very much in the following year when District administrators made the decision to consolidate the changes already implemented and to seek a better relationship with District faculty.

The problems of implementing change through the department structure given the absence of commitment from chairs was apparent in department responses to the District priority of providing more opportunities in developmental education. In those departments which could not escape responding such as English, Reading and Mathematics, much of the work of developing and teaching new courses was accomplished by new faculty members employed specifically for that purpose. In mathematics, the department never approved formally a new course offered nominally under its auspices by a relatively new faculty member. Several departments had never considered the need for developmental courses in their area of responsibility and indicated they had no intention of doing so. Two major departments appointed committees to study the need for developmental education. These committees met for a year and ultimately disbanded without reaching any agreement on recommendations to be advanced.

Sections of the below 100 level, remedial, courses were limited by department scheduling decisions. A participant observer working at the Basic Studies table at registration reported that all below 100 level English courses closed-out early in registration. Although placement testing continued and many students were referred for these courses, no additional sections were added.

At first, it seemed strange that faculty should be resistant to a program which was designed to place "new" students in appropriate courses (and, therefore, keep them out of the courses they did not have the reading and writing skills to handle). However, for some faculty, resistance to District priorities and, hence, District encroachment on campus operations was a way of life.

For others, resistance was targeted directly on the intent of the program. Previous remedial courses at least had attempted to mainstream students; theoretically students who "made it through" those courses were prepared to enter the "regular" college curriculum. The basic skills program had as its purpose, however, "assisting individuals to obtain the necessary skills to function in society". Such a statement appeared to legitimize teaching basic skills for the sake of teaching basic skills. Further, it encouraged attendance of students who would never enter a degree oriented curriculum. For transfer oriented faculty, this was clearly contrary to the purposes for which they believed the college existed.

A minority of faculty were able to achieve change in the absence of active opposition from their colleagues as demonstrated by the establishment of the basic skills program. Of course, the Dean had previously ensured the existence of the cadre of necessary full time faculty to design and implement the program through judicious recruitment for the limited number of faculty vacancies authorized in the preceding two years. Where astute and meticulous planning was absent, efforts to adapt programs could easily fail because of the extensive constraints operating. In the same year that Oakwood started its basic skills program with full enrollment, a similar effort in a sister college serving a student population with at least as many educational deficiencies, failed to enroll any students. The sister college also received discretionary funds for the proposed program from the District.

Not all efforts to change programs and services at Oakwood to respond to operative objectives proceeded as smoothly as the development of the adult basic skills program. Just as the "rules for change" made it possible for small groups of committed faculty to achieve change in the absence of active opposition, the presence of opposition made it possible for small groups to block change or alter its direction significantly. When the need for faculty assistance with a new process for advising and registering students was discussed at a meeting of the Administrative Council, a faculty representative in attendance stated, "the faculty had better be consulted or they will blow their tops." Ultimately, it proved necessary to involve all faculty in the advising process even though administrative preference was to include only those regarded as able to do an effective job. Faculty refused to support a process that involved more time for some than for others.

Oakwood, like most community colleges, had little systematic evidence relating outcomes to operative objectives. There seemed to be two primary reasons why formal evaluation did not occur. The first was philosophical. One administrator described the college as operating according to the Marshall Fields (a major department store) theory of evaluation, "if it sells and keeps on selling, we don't worry about it. If something goes well, we don't evaluate it for fear we'll find something wrong and have to stop offering it." The second reason related to the level of administrative staffing. Administrators at Oakwood were simply too busy keeping the operation going to have any time to worry about activities perceived to be nonessential.

Despite the absence of systematic and organized data on outcomes, administrators did engage in informal evaluation. Critiques were held in the administrative council and in the meeting of department chairs after important functions such as registration. The results of these discussions were then used to improve procedures in subsequent cycles. Some administrators also described the information they obtained through walking around and talking to faculty and students. The only systematic procedure for collecting data observed was the evaluation of evening faculty by students. This data was not reported outside the office responsible for its collection and some Oakwood administrators were unaware of its existence.

It is possible that the absence of evaluation served a functional purpose since neither administrators nor faculty were very optimistic about the ability of the college to help low level students. In fact, the objective of developmental programs, as most commonly emphasized by the dean, was to keep underprepared students from taking up space or detracting from the learning environment in the transfer and technical courses. Faculty indicated that the developmental studies program had been effective in achieving this objective by keeping departments such as business, psychology, physics and social science from being impacted by lower level students.

We have previously described the positive relationships that prevailed between Oakwood faculty and administrators in contrast with the attitudes of faculty toward most District level administrators. In spite of this positive atmosphere, there was evidence of conflict and limited communication. Faculty involved in activities defined by the District as high priority, including developmental studies, intensive English as a second language and staff development, felt they received less support at the College level than they should have. As previously noted, our attitudinal study indicated that in the area of developmental education, administrators were deeply divided and less committed than faculty on the average.

The lack of information about outcomes was related to the absence of defined objectives for most programs. The need to relate College goals for developmental students to the students' goals was recognized. However, no one was sure what the students' goals were. Assessments had not been completed prior to the design of the developmental programs. There was no research on why people left or why they stayed. In one section of the adult basic skills program, there was almost no attrition but practically none of the students achieved the instructor's goal of a grade 4 reading level by the end of the course.

The scorecard for stability and change at Oakwood seemed heavily weighted toward the former as perhaps it should have been. Clearly, the priority of attracting new clientele was being achieved to a level and with results that were distressing to some faculty and administrators. The developmental program had been expanded and changed. Perhaps it had been improved but the evidence for such a conclusion was lacking. Students who were underprepared were kept from regular courses. New courses with greater emphasis on literacy skills had been developed and staffed. An altered registration and advising system channeled students with the requisite qualifications into these courses. On the less positive side, faculty teaching in developmental areas received less support from administrators than they perceived as necessary, raising questions about the level of administrative commitment to this priority at both District and College levels.

The situation was less clear in the area of retention. Students in developmental offerings did persist. At the same time, there were significant issues related to the progress of those who persisted and their motivation for remaining at Oakwood. Many administrators and faculty alike saw the primary motivation as a desire to remain eligible for student assistance as an alternative to welfare. There was no evidence that persistence in transfer or occupational programs was influenced by the priority placed on retention. Perhaps, as faculty believed, many of the causes of attrition were beyond their control.

Occupational education emerged as an operative goal at the District level rather late in the study. The problems were clearly identified. Space for new career programs was limited. Equipment for existing programs was, in many instances, outdated. Developing new programs under these conditions through use of adjunct staff was attempted but with limited results.

When this study concluded, the Richfield District was in the throes of major task force activity designed to improve and expand occupational offerings. Faculty were heavily involved with the study. Following a year of extensive effort, a five year plan was developed and approved by the governing board. With approval came a first year funding commitment of 5 million dollars.

One issue arising from this analysis of District priorities and the adaptive responses of Oakwood involves the relationship between change and conflict. Those operative objectives toward which Oakwood made the greatest progress served as lightning rods attracting not only the normal resistance to new approaches but, in addition, the reservoir of ill-will generated by previous District actions in trying to implement change. Some faculty might not have resisted serving new clientele and developmental education if it had not been for the establishment of the college-without-walls and the expanded role for adjuncts. On the other hand, a good case can be made for the proposition that without significant adaptation to existing processes and organization, Richfield would never have closed the gap between the demands of its external environment and its historic emphasis on serving traditional students primarily through its transfer curriculum.

This analysis of the context within which literacy functioned at Oakwood presents practitioners and researchers with a number of issues. Attempts to change educational programs and services must simultaneously develop commitment among faculty and administrators involved in operationalizing the change while lessening commitment to previous and competing objectives among the majority of faculty and administrators from whom nothing more than acquiescence is required. The administrative strategies most evident at Oakwood in relation to this issue were selecting new staff, participation in decision making and formal staff development programs. The results attainable through a limited number of strategies is obviously attenuated as the opportunities for using one of them such as employing new staff, becomes more limited.

A second issue closely related to the first, involves the conflict that develops in direct proportion to success in achieving a directed change. How far is it wise to pursue change at the expense of cohesion? To what extent can administrators achieve educational change in the absence of faculty commitment or in the presence of active resistance either from faculty or among their own ranks? The absence of faculty leadership other than from quasi-administrators in identifying desired change may also be a severe limitation on efforts to make educational programs and services more responsive to new clientele. Given low turnover rates and high levels of tenure as in the Richfield District, educational change may become increasingly difficult to attain as ever higher percentages of faculty develop commitment to the institution as it has been rather than as key administrators believe it should become. For traditional four year colleges and universities this may not be a problem, but in an institution committed to change as the only constant value, conflicts may increasingly reduce the human resources available for delivery of programs and services.

Finally the problem of goals and outcomes is particularly vexing. In the absence of defined levels of achievement for students entering educational programs as well as established standards for assessing outcomes, changes in literacy demands or characteristics must of necessity occur without institutional control. To the extent the community college serves only adults whose needs can be satisfied without moving to another institutional setting where expectations must articulate with those of the community college, there is no problem except perhaps in a philosophical sense. In contrast if community colleges are to continue the historic mission of providing access to the professions through the baccalaureate there is a need to learn more about the extent to which the relative literacy skills of students may be affected as a result of increasing diversity among the characteristics and objectives of students served by two-year and four-year colleges. Most of the studies of the performance of community college transfers in four year colleges and universities were completed on students who entered community colleges more than a decade ago under very dissimilar circumstances to those existing today. Administrative priorities and strategies designed to achieve growth and responsiveness to community needs must also be evaluated in terms of their impact on literacy.

ENDNOTES

1. These descriptions were adapted from the Oakwood College Catalog.

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CHAPTER V

STUDENT SERVICES

Services at Oakwood such as admissions and records and financial aids required the use of reading and writing skills, often at high levels. In contrast others like Chicano services, special services and the learning assistance center, were designed to assist students in coping with or bypassing the literacy demands of the former. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the reading and writing tasks students encountered as they applied for admission, registered for classes or sought financial assistance. Each of these tasks presented varying degrees of difficulty depending on the skills and background knowledge of the student. Whatever their skills, however, students could and did complete these tasks, sometimes without much knowledge of the English language, if they were willing to persist.

College materials and the reading and writing tasks involved in their use were a factor in getting admitted, registering for classes or applying for financial aid. Most student services, however, could be used without reading the college materials associated with them or by using such materials in idiosyncratic ways that limited the reading and writing demands involved. The primary method for obtaining assistance and information was oral, asking friends or seeking staff assistance. Services throughout the institution were oriented to this mode and all staff were accustomed to answering a wide array of student inquiries.

The use of student services other than those required for admission, registration and financial aid depended upon the type of linkages that existed between the student and the institution. Younger, full-time students, who belonged to clubs were heavy users of services as were developmental students. The high use of services by the latter was related to the emphasis placed on such services by developmental faculty. All adult basic studies block programs included a counseling course. Faculty in these programs were more likely to make referrals and to stress the importance of student services in their classrooms.

This chapter traces the entering student from first contact with the institution through matriculation. Reading and writing tasks have been analyzed where they occurred in the process. Following discussion of administrative tasks associated with entering the institution, we have described several services developed to help a changing student clientele cope with literacy tasks which assume reading and writing skills nontraditional students often do not possess. We conclude by summarizing our findings and outlining some possible implications for the functions of literacy at Oakwood.

Administrative Tasks

Admissions

Applying for admission represented a student's first contact with the college. Potential students, responding to college advertisements or simply aware of a college in their area, phoned or stopped by the admissions and records office to pick up the necessary application form. For most admissions was the process of completing the application form and receiving an acceptance letter in the mail. There were, however, 23 other printed materials related to the admissions process. These materials included forms and handouts explaining procedures and directed toward applicants requiring special instructions such as out-of-state applicants, international students, military personnel, students still completing high school or college athletes. One program, nursing, required an additional eleven page application form.

The process of applying for general admission was, for the most part, easy. Applicants went to the admissions and records counter in the administration building and obtained an application form and college catalog. Occasionally, a student was directed to a particular question on the application referring to night school or day school and told, "Be sure to check the right one." Clerks reviewed application forms and filled in the items left blank.

Students did not place much emphasis on the admissions process. As one described it, "they all went in there to apply, someone handed me an application and said, 'Here, fill this out and we will send you a registration card. Here's the catalog, here's the nursing brochure, this is what you have to take for nursing, it says so in the catalog,' and that was it." Another called the office to request an application form which she returned by mail. However, it was returned to her because she had filled it out incorrectly. "So I got it back and had to redo it again."

The one administrative task common to all students in the admissions process was filling out and filing the application for admission. Under ordinary circumstances, the literacy operations associated with this event were minimal and involved both reading and writing. The application form, called for 34 different segments of information covering a wide spectrum of personal data. The front of the document served as the application and had to be completed in full and signed. The reverse side, entitled "Student Data Form", requested information used to comply with federal reporting requirements. The directions on side one did not make it clear whether both front and back of the form had to be completed.

The admissions form contained a relatively large number of decisions for a form two pages in length. (See Methodological Appendix: Student Services for a complete explanation of analytical procedures described in this chapter.) Because of the number of decisions, the form was relatively difficult particularly for students without previous experience in this type of application. The types of difficulties fell into several categories including directions for filling out and filing the form, the meaning of such terms as "admission status", "W and Z" grades, "transcripts", "major field of study", "curricula", and completing all required information and signing the document.

In contrast to admissions and records staff who reported problems related to explaining and justifying entries, students' comments centered on recall of specific information "When did you last move to this state: give date - month, day, year" and, on the more general level, simply having to respond to so many items. Figure 5.1 illustrates the form. Length seemed to be a troublesome feature for students, particularly as they saw little importance associated with much of the information requested. College jargon such as "transfer credit" and "classification" were also identified as causing difficulty. Following directions was not reported as a problem except by non-native speakers of English. However, the ability to know what to ask was the most important prerequisite of an uncomplicated admission experience. The importance of oral communication was particularly important for students with limited English.

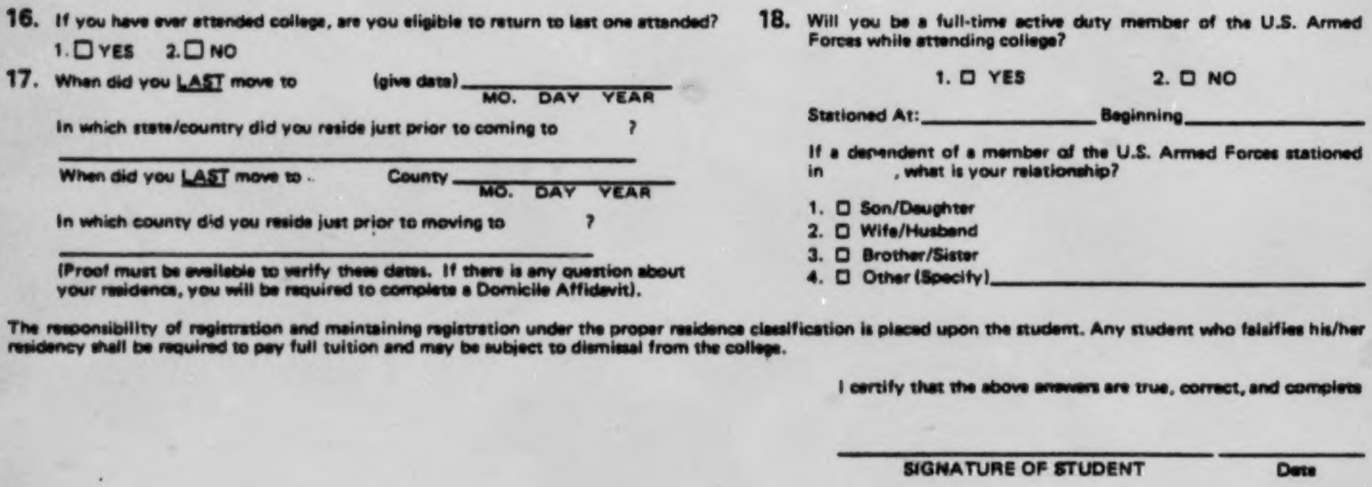
Financial Aid

Approximately 4,000 of the almost 14,000 students at Oakwood received financial aid. As students applied through the student financial aid office for a variety of grants, they encountered many of the 33 documents distributed by that office. Of course, not all students who applied for aid were successful in obtaining it and, not all students who picked up the application blank actually took the time and trouble to complete it.

Students applying for aid received varying amounts of assistance. All were given the American College Testing Assistance Program packet which contained a basic grant application, the family financial assistance form and either a handbook or a pamphlet describing financial assistance programs. They were told to fill out the forms and to bring them in if they had questions.

Figure 5.1

Segment of Admissions Form*
for Oakwood College



16. If you have ever attended college, are you eligible to return to last one attended?
1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ NO

17. When did you LAST move to (give date) ____________
MO. DAY YEAR

In which state/country did you reside just prior to coming to ?
____

When did you LAST move to .. County ____________
MO. DAY YEAR

In which county did you reside just prior to moving to ?
____

(Proof must be available to verify these dates. If there is any question about your residence, you will be required to complete a Domicile Affidavit).

18. Will you be a full-time active duty member of the U.S. Armed Forces while attending college?

1. ☐ YES 2. ☐ NO

Stationed At: ____________ Beginning ____________

If a dependent of a member of the U.S. Armed Forces stationed in , what is your relationship?

1. ☐ Son/Daughter
2. ☐ Wife/Husband
3. ☐ Brother/Sister
4. ☐ Other (Specify) ____________

The responsibility of registration and maintaining registration under the proper residence classification is placed upon the student. Any student who falsifies his/her residency shall be required to pay full tuition and may be subject to dismissal from the college.

I certify that the above answers are true, correct, and complete

____________ ____________
SIGNATURE OF STUDENT Date

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*To maintain anonymity, key identifiers have been eliminated.

Some students received particularly detailed explanations as in the following example described by a participant observer.

> She started out the explanation of the form by asking if I would be attending Oakwood in January. I said yes and she asked me if I was in school now and I replied no. She proceeded to fill in the space on the form that would enable me to apply for BEOG. While doing this, she asked if I would definitely be coming to Oakwood and I said yes. Next, she filled in the code number for Oakwood on the correct line. She continued to explain each section which had to be completed. Under the section entitled 'financial aid preference', she described each alternative such as work-study programs. She also explained the unusual circumstances box. The circumstances she mentioned were divorce, death in the family, and high medical bills. She also inquired whether I would be full-time or part-time. I told her full-time so she wrote down that I would probably have 12 hours in the spring of 1980.
>
> After explaining each section, she gave me some general information. For example, she showed me which forms my parents had to sign and which ones I had to sign. She said that the application fee was $4.50 and that it would take six weeks to process. Then she told me to send the form I had completed in the envelope provided, to the evaluation center in Iowa. She explained that the reply would be sent to my home. In fact, she even showed me a sample of what the reply would look like. She told me that once I got the reply, I should bring it into the office so that they could look at it.

Time did not always permit such detailed explanations of the process. One receptionist completed 36 contacts in a 70-minute period. Most of these were much briefer than the example above.

> Receptionist: Can I help you? The student asked a question about short-term loans. The receptionist tells her she will need to turn in the application, which she hands to the girl. The receptionist states that there may not be enough money available, but says to turn in the application anyway. The receptionist also tells the student that if she answers yes to any of the nine questions on the application, she will have to get her parents' financial information.
>
> A male, Anglo student (20-25) waits at the receptionist desk. The receptionist approaches him. 'How do I go about getting aid' he asks? The receptionist tells him, 'Take one of those (pointing toward the rack with application forms). All the directions are inside.' He asks, 'Should I take it back here?'
>
> Another Spanish speaking female comes to the reception desk. The receptionist communicates with her in Spanish about application forms.

The receptionist was usually the first person a student contacted in the financial aid office. She spent anywhere from 15 seconds to three to five minutes with a first contact student. At most, she pointed out areas of special concern for students in filling out forms. At least, she handed out materials or directed students to the application packet, telling them to fill it out and mail it in and to feel free to contact student financial aid if any questions arose.

Students were more inclined to comment or complain about, the financial aid process than other major administrative tasks. Often, the comments and frustrations reflected the critical nature of financial assistance. Most students stated that they would not have been able to attend college without it. A nursing student complained because the financial aid office didn't explain that she could have received a grant rather than a loan. She described her process of applying for financial aid as a "hassle", particularly because she could not get the money in time to buy her books. In the end, she went to the campus AWARE club where she was given the money she needed.

Another student was concerned with the process of applying for a loan - a process she initially believed would be quite simple because her husband worked at the bank where the loan application would be sent. Her detailed complaints disclosed a several-months time frame, innumerable calls to the financial aid office and a request that she prove she didn't have any loans from a previous college experience in the early sixties.

For many students, the "hassle" of the application process was the application form, particularly the family financial statement. Staff and work-study students in all student services reported that students brought the financial aid application form to their office for assistance.

The activity of applying for financial aid was not unlike the admissions process in that reading and writing requirements involved filling out and filing one or more lengthy application forms. Although specific documents required may have varied from individual to individual, all applicants had to file the student data form and the family financial statement (FFS). The former called for 51 different units of information while the latter, which consisted of computer-processed data sheets, required at least 93. Both forms were packaged in a mailing envelope and imprinted with a series of legal disclaimers and governmental policies listed under a heading entitled "Notice to Applicants". Accompanying the forms within the envelope was a four-page manual containing information designed to assist applicants in completing the FFS.

Two components of the family financial statement packet (1979-80 edition) were analyzed using readability formulas, "Notice to Applicant" (on the back of the packet envelope) and the instruction sheet for completing the FFS. The "Notice to Applicant" section provides basic information regarding application procedures, and cites legislative acts which govern the application process. Laws are quoted and much of the language used is highly technical; sentences generally are long and complex and include legal terms (See excerpt in Figure 5.2). Readability estimates (17+ - 19) suggested that most students would have difficulty understanding them without some form of assistance.

The "instructions" sheet in the packet presented information on how to complete various sections of the FFS. Designed to be used while filling out the form, this sheet contained complete directions, presented serially in a step-by-step fashion. With the exception of the introductory general information section, the subsection of these directions was written at average readability estimates of 12 to 14, significantly less difficult than the "notice" on the envelope in which they were packaged.

The student data form was also required for all financial aid applicants. While the student data form required less information, it was regarded as the more difficult of the two by students because of the nature of the information required.

Both staff working in the financial aid office and students who made application for assistance reported that considerable difficulty was experienced in completing the financial aid forms. The questions raised most commonly fell into two categories: terminology used on the forms, including the meaning of "notarization", "GPA", and "grade points" and processing of the applications including required signatures, accessing

Figure 5.2

Excerpt From "Notice to Applicants" on Financial Aids Packet

II. Applicants using the FFS to apply only for a BEOG:

INFORMATION COLLECTED ON APPLICATION FORM

Subsection (e)(3) of the Privacy Act of 1974 (5 U.S.C. 552a(e)(3)) requires that an agency inform each individual whom it asks to supply information of: (1) the authority (whether granted by statute, or by executive order of the President) which authorizes the solicitation of the information and whether disclosure of such information is mandatory or voluntary; (2) the principal purpose or purposes for which the information is intended to be used; (3) the routine uses which may be made of the information as published in the Federal Register; and (4) the effects, if any, of not providing all or any part of the requested information.

1. The authority for collecting the requested information is section 411(b)(2) of Title IV-A-1 of the Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(2)). Applicants are advised that, except as noted in paragraph 4, the disclosure of the requested information is mandatory.

2. This information is being collected in order to calculate a student's eligibility index under the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant Program. The eligibility index is one of the three factors used in determining the amount, if any, of an applicant's Basic Grant.

3. The "routine uses," as defined in 5 U.S.C. 552a(a)(7), which may be made of the information collected are: An applicant's name, address, social security number, date of birth, and eligibility index will be provided to the institution of higher education which the applicant indicates he is attending or will attend and to the State scholarship agency of the applicant's state of legal residence if such an agency has an agreement with the Commissioner of Education permitting it to secure such information. Such information will be used by the State agency in coordinating its program of student financial aid with the Basic Grants Program. Furthermore, on request, information may be provided to members of Congress who inquire on behalf of a student who is a constituent or, where appropriate, on behalf of the parents of the student. In addition, the routine uses listed in Appendix B of 45 CFR 5B may be utilized.

4. ACT will transmit data to the BEOG Program only if such release is authorized in item 89 of the FFS. In order to have their applications for Basic Grants processed, applicants must provide all of the information on the FFS, with the following exceptions:

    a. For applicants who answer "yes" to any question for any year in Section B, the following data will not be transmitted to BEOG:

    —items 8, 9, 11, all of Section C, items 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 56, 69, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 86, 88, all of Section H, and the 3rd and 4th school codes in item 91.

    b. For applicants who answer "no" to every question for every year in Section B, the following data will not be transmitted to BEOG:

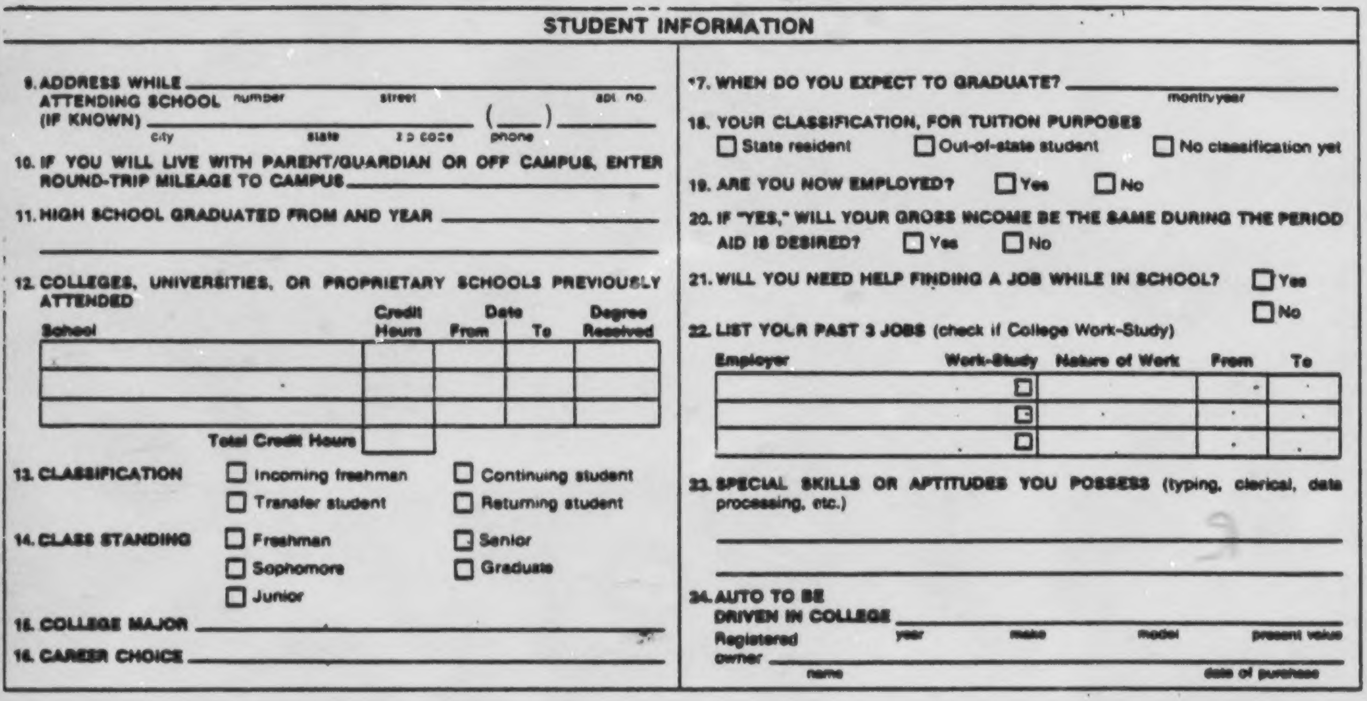
    —items 8, 9, 29, 37-43, all of Sections D, E, F, and H, items 79, 80, 82, 83, 86, 88, and the 3rd and 4th school codes in item 91.

Students applying only for the BEOG Program need not complete items 12, 81, 90, and 91. However, answering those items will facilitate the administration of State student financial assistance programs.

Failure to answer item 89 will be considered authorization to release information only to the schools/programs coded in item 91. Failure to answer any item in Section B will be considered as a "yes" answer to the item.

Figure 5.3

Excerpt From Student Data Form, 1979-80 Edition



STUDENT INFORMATION

9. ADDRESS WHILE ATTENDING SCHOOL (IF KNOWN) ______________________
number street apt. no.
______________________ (___) ________
city state zip code phone

10. IF YOU WILL LIVE WITH PARENT/GUARDIAN OR OFF CAMPUS, ENTER ROUND-TRIP MILEAGE TO CAMPUS ______________________

11. HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATED FROM AND YEAR ______________________

12. COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES, OR PROPRIETARY SCHOOLS PREVIOUSLY ATTENDED

School	Credit Hours	Date From	Date To	Degree Received
Total Credit Hours				

13. CLASSIFICATION ☐ Incoming freshman ☐ Continuing student ☐ Transfer student ☐ Returning student

14. CLASS STANDING ☐ Freshman ☐ Senior ☐ Sophomore ☐ Graduate ☐ Junior

15. COLLEGE MAJOR ______________________

16. CAREER CHOICE ______________________

17. WHEN DO YOU EXPECT TO GRADUATE? ______________________
month/year

18. YOUR CLASSIFICATION, FOR TUITION PURPOSES
☐ State resident ☐ Out-of-state student ☐ No classification yet

19. ARE YOU NOW EMPLOYED? ☐ Yes ☐ No

20. IF "YES," WILL YOUR GROSS INCOME BE THE SAME DURING THE PERIOD AID IS DESIRED? ☐ Yes ☐ No

21. WILL YOU NEED HELP FINDING A JOB WHILE IN SCHOOL? ☐ Yes ☐ No

22. LIST YOUR PAST 3 JOBS (check if College Work-Study)

Employer	Work-Study	Nature of Work	From	To
	☐			
	☐			
	☐			

23. SPECIAL SKILLS OR APTITUDES YOU POSSESS (typing, clerical, data processing, etc.)
____
____

24. AUTO TO BE DRIVEN IN COLLEGE ______________________
year make model present value
Registered owner ______________________
name date of purchase

family financial records, and obtaining duplicate copies of supportive documents. Among the more common errors or omissions were: entering data in the wrong place, omitting personal data thought to be unimportant or too sensitive, and inconsistencies with the same data recorded in different places.

Recalling specific information was the greatest problem with the FFS. Considering the specificity of some items: list name, nature of work, dates of last three employers, amount of unpaid mortgage, current market value of home; as well as the expansive range of personal data required, these difficulties were not surprising. An example of typical items is presented in Figure 5.3. Length was also cited as a factor complicating completion, as was the format (the computer processed sheet). A majority of students described the overall task as difficult and indicated they could not have completed it without assistance. Estimates of difficulty contrasted sharply with the amount of explanation typically provided during the initial contact between a student and the financial assistance office.

Although student financial aid staff suggested that non-native speakers of English encountered the most difficulty, the forms seemed quite difficult even for those with a reasonable command of English. As with the admission application, Spanish speaking students sought help with financial aid forms from Chicano services. Unlike admissions, there was less direct referral from the financial aids office. Students, were told to complete the application by themselves, seeking assistance in the office only if they had questions. A Spanish speaking student encountered this experience:

> She asked a staff person for some kind of assistance with the form. She was referred by that person to admissions and records. Admissions and records sent her to the cashier. The cashier told her that she should have gone immediately to Chicano services for assistance. Chicano services staff listened to her questions and told her what materials she would need to bring to them so they could help her fill out the financial aid form. She brought these and someone from Chicano services filled out the form for her completely.

Thus, the financial aid application even more than the admissions application, required the use of oral language, especially questioning skills. Because the form was more difficult, persistence was an important factor in obtaining assistance. With the right kind of assistance, the nature of the task changed from an event requiring reading and writing to one that could be accomplished through speaking and listening.

Registration

Registration was the process through which students enrolled in specific classes. Depending upon status and previous preparation, the registration process incorporated orientation, advisement and placement, and enrollment. Not all students participated in all phases. Part-time students who did not want to take English did not go through the testing and placement process. Students who were sophisticated about how registration worked and who knew which courses they wanted to take skipped advisement.

Despite the existence of an orientation presentation designed to help students cope with the complexities of registration, most new students simply arrived on campus, saw a line entering the registration area and stood in it. The absence of signs or persons available to answer questions resulted in many students standing in the wrong lines without required forms. Those who persisted achieved their objectives but many took the easier route of registering for two courses and thereby escaping the rigors of the placement procedure.

Faculty at Oakwood were not unaware of the problems posed by registration for their increasingly diverse student clientele. When the basic studies program was first conceptualized, they recognized that the ability to identify and properly place students in the program would be a key factor in achieving success. Thus, a proposal was written to design a special registration for new students. The faculty members responsible developed a revised process for the registration of over 6,000 students prior to the fall, 1979 semester and continued through the next two years to focus on improving advisement for all students.

The team developed new orientation procedures, moved testing to a more convenient location with more available hours, developed a self-assessment process for all students and a special assessment for basic studies students, and implemented an advising system which provided advisors in "clusters" of departments with an express table for students who did not need advising. A core of thirty faculty advisors carried most of the student load. Work-study students assumed responsibility for procedural tasks such as class card distribution to free faculty to function as advisors. A half-day session was held to acquaint advisors with procedures and their advisement responsibilities. Provisions were made for faculty, students and administrative evaluation of all phases of the new procedures and a tracking system was developed to evaluate the retention of students who had been through this advisement process.

Faculty advisor evaluations of the changes by those participating were favorable, 73% indicated that they would voluntarily serve as permanent advisors in the future. Administrative evaluations were also supportive and student evaluations were generally favorable. The results of the follow-up study on student retention were good as well. The data on student withdrawal generally indicated that advised students had a substantially lower withdrawal rate than students who had not been advised and the difference applied to both day and evening students.

From the evaluation, it appeared that the committee's efforts were highly successful and the new registration procedures would be adopted by the institution. Armed with these results, the committee proceeded to make modifications for the January registration of new students and considered such additions as the advisement and registration of continuing students, changing the drop-add process and a permanent assignment of students to advisors.

However, the changes brought complaints from some faculty producing a compromise by spring registration where more students were advised and the time period decreased. Some faculty also objected because they were working registration during a time when others were not accountable to the institution resulting in a decision that all faculty would work registration. This caused further resentment.

After the succeeding fall registration, the committee's strongest supporter in the administration left the campus. Faculty complaints again surfaced. In addition to concerns about how many faculty would work registration, there were also complaints about training for faculty advisors, advising in a cluster rather than advising by departments, about student workers rather than faculty passing out class cards and generally about the long hours required to register and advise students by the new process. These complaints continued throughout the year.

Ultimately the faculty pressure resulted in a reversion to procedures previously in use. Many of the processes such as orientation and advisement were compressed. But perhaps the most important, the reversion affected placement, a key aspect of the original design. Following the spring 1981 registration, it was noted that placement in basic studies had not been successful. The change in the process made it possible for students to skip through without being checked.

Frustrated in the attempt to reform the registration and advisement process, the advisement and registration committee turned its attention to the college catalog as the most important source of information. When they discovered that sufficient copies of the catalog were not available, they hurriedly pulled together information about the various courses. In the process they discovered many inconsistencies between course information available in the catalog and reported as current by the departments. There were problems with hours required and course descriptions as well as programs listed that could not be completed in their current form. Eventually the committee's work led to an advisors handbook which was subsequently incorporated in the catalog.

The College Catalog

Students were usually given a copy of the catalog at the time they applied for admission. The catalog was identified by students, faculty, and clerical staff as the most important of all college materials. Staff often described it as "The Bible", noting that it was the one document which explained all the rules and regulations of the college. Some services such as the career center and veterans affairs made a special effort to encourage students to read it, including review of some sections with them. The catalog was explained during orientation as "divided into thirds". The first part told them everything they needed to know about college. The second reviewed the curriculum. The third part described each of the courses briefly.

Faculty, while agreeing about the importance of the catalog expressed concern about its quality. A developmental instructor suggested that the catalog was too vague, "It infuriates me that the catalog is incomplete when this is all the students have." Faculty and staff, commenting on the importance of the catalog, often added "but students don't read it." Admissions and records staff who served as the major information source for questions about college procedures were very likely to express this opinion.

In carrying out a readability analysis of the college catalog, two sections were examined: the "common core" which was used District-wide and included 26 pages of text and tables, and the course offering section, which was a listing of course descriptors catalogued by departmental designation.

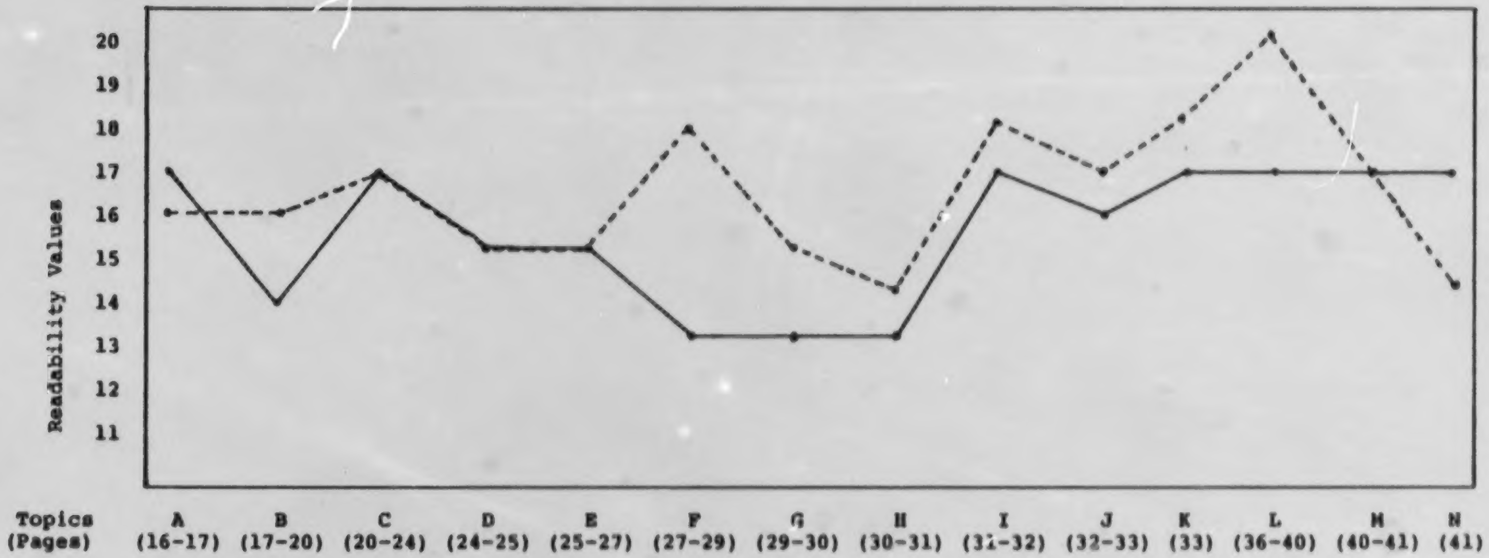
The content of the common core section of the catalog was largely informational. A listing of topics along with estimated readability values appears in Table 5.1.

Topical unit estimates ranged from 13 - 20+. Since the common core section of the catalog was written at a relatively sophisticated level, there was need for assistance in "making sense" out of policy and program information. In addition, elements not apparent in Table 1, exhibited considerable vocabulary and stylistic differences. While common terms characterized some units, others consisted largely of technical vocabulary. Listings and tabular information were inserted in various sections. These stylistic variations required considerable flexibility in adapting reading behaviors. Such ability is generally characteristic of only mature and sophisticated readers.

Based on averages by departments, the majority of course descriptors exceeded a readability estimate of 16.0, suggesting a high level of difficulty. However, course descriptors are characteristically written with high content density. Complexity increases student difficulty in comprehending information. There are few of the naturally occurring redundancy cues because of the desire to compress as much information as possible into as little space. Most descriptors included technical or specialized vocabulary characteristic of specific disciplines. Examples are depicted in Figure 5.4.

Table 5.1

Readability of General Catalog in Serial Order of Informational Presentation (Common Core Section)



Readability Estimates

Fry: _____
SMOG: -----

Mean Values

Fry: 16
SMOG: 17

Topical Key

A. Richfield County Colleges
B. Residency
C. Admissions
D. Admissions Procedures
E. Registration
F. Schedule of Classes
G. Attendance
H. Grading System
I. Scholastic Standards
J. Graduation
K. Associate Degrees
L. Occupational Programs
M. Transfer to Other Colleges
N. Curricular Offerings

Figure 5.4

Sample Course Descriptors from the Oakwood College Catalog

AN 101 General Physical Anthropology 3 credits 3 periods
Physical anthropology and archaeology; evidence and processes of human evolution and of culture change; primates, fossil humans and their tools; race, variation, and heredity; people and their environment; prehistoric culture and society. This course meets General Education Science requirement.

AE 101 Basic Ground School 3 credits 5 periods
Federal Air Regulations, meteorology, navigation, radio, radar, theory of flight, aircraft engines and airframes.

CT 103 Construction Methods 3 credits 3 periods
An introduction to the selection and application of construction methods and materials; methods of assembly, installation, and application of fundamental construction materials and components; structural characteristics, engineering properties, source and cost of basic construction materials.

DT 121 Technical Drafting I 3 credits 6 periods
Fundamentals of drafting for manufacturing including use of instruments, scales, graphite and plastic leads, inking and lettering devices of vellum, cloth and polyester film; topics include lettering, geometric construction, sketching and shape description, multiview projection, basic dimensioning practice, introduction to ANSI standards, and reproduction drawings.

The problems students had with the catalog ranged from finding information to understanding what courses related to which degrees. The most common questions asked were, "What do I need to graduate?" "Where does it tell me ________?" "What are the courses like?" Staff felt that students would have had fewer problems if they read the catalog instead of "jumping over information that was obvious and asking someone instead".

Staff, however, also reported problems with the catalog and suggested it was "poorly written". The main criticism focused on the lack of an index or good table of contents and discrepancies within content.

The common core section produced at the District level for inclusion in all campus catalogs used legal terminology to establish the college's position on such policies as residency, veterans regulations and student rights. Some sections of the final version were proofread by legal council rather than anyone concerned with education. Course descriptions were also produced at the District level and were common to all colleges. Thus, the primary criterion for wording many course descriptions was whether the language was parallel to related courses at transfer institutions and not whether students could understand them.

While all students reported using the catalog, they also reported informal and/or verbal means of gaining information much more frequently. The catalog as an institutionally constructed tool was enhanced and interpreted through direct, face-to-face interaction with friends, student services staff or faculty. While students did read the catalog, they did not read it in the manner that staff expected. Figure 5.5 suggests why students required assistance in understanding catalog information.

Figure 5.5

Excerpt From Oakwood College Catalog: Common Core Section

CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING RESIDENCY

1. No person shall be entitled to classification as an in-state student until domiciled in this state for one year. Except as otherwise stated in these regulations, no person with domicile elsewhere than in this state shall be eligible for classification as an in-state student for tuition purposes.
2. The domicile of an unemancipated person is that of the parent or legal guardian.
3. Any unemancipated person who remains in this state after the parent (who has been domiciled in this state) leaves the state as a resident, shall be entitled to be classified as an in-state student until attainment of the degree for which the person is currently enrolled, as long as continuous attendance is maintained in one or another of the state-supported colleges or universities.
4. An unemancipated person who, for at least two years, has been in continuous direct care and control of, and has lived with a specific adult domiciled in a college district other than a parent, shall be classified as an in-state student.
5. A person domiciled in the state as a "ward of the court" (so placed by order of the court), shall be considered as an in-state resident, subject to the one-year residency rule.
6. A legal alien residing in the state on a visitor, student, or work visa may not be classified as an in-state resident. However, an alien is entitled to classification as an in-state refugee student is such person has been granted parole refugee status in accordance with all applicable laws of the United States and has met all other requirements for domicile: this exemption expires June 30, 1981.
7. No emancipated person has established a domicile in this state while attending any educational institution in this state as a full-time student, as such status is defined by the governing board of the community colleges or universities, in the absence of a clear demonstration to the contrary.
8. In addition to other eligibility categories for in-state student classification, a unemancipated person shall be entitled to classification as an in-state student if ALL of the following conditions are met:
   - A. Such person was domiciled in this state as the child of parents who were domiciled in this state.
   - B. Such person's custody was awarded to one parent who removed from this state and the parent who was not granted custody remained continuously domiciled in this state and such remaining parent has been domiciled in this state continuously for one year prior to the first day of classes.
   - C. The majority of such person's financial support by the remaining parent who was not granted custody and was so provided while such person was absent from the state and until registration for enrollment.
   - D. Such person has never enrolled in a college or university located outside this state for a degree program or other program designed for qualification for admission to any post-graduate program or professional school.
   - E. Such person swears or affirms under oath that his domicile is in this state or would be if he were an emancipated person.

A person once classified as an in-state student pursuant to this subsection shall retain the classification for as many normal academic years of continuous attendance as the number of years the parent providing a majority of financial support is continuously domiciled in this state or until attainment of the degree for which currently enrolled, whichever first occurs.

Orientation

Orientation was an important service when Oakwood opened in the mid-sixties. Three-hour orientation sessions were available throughout the summer. These sessions featured information sessions for large groups followed by small group sessions where students were given the opportunity to ask questions as well as to receive assistance in drafting their programs of study. As the number of students increased and more enrolled for part-time study, orientation sessions became less comprehensive and were scheduled for shorter periods of time. Three hours became one hour, then thirty minutes until by the time of this study, fifteen minutes was the standard allocation.

The content of orientation sessions also changed as educational programs became more comprehensive and student interests shifted from degree attainment to the completion of discrete courses. Emphasis changed from helping individuals planning and learning the college system to informing them about the registration process and course selection. While the number of sessions increased, both the time allotted to each session and the content encompassed were substantially narrowed. Greater reliance was placed on written materials and media presentations. Once considered important enough to require a team of counselors, by the end of our study orientation was conducted by work-study students using a video tape presentation.

The evolution of orientation from a concern with student development into a directory service did not occur without some attempts to reverse the direction. The advisement and registraton committee viewed orientation as an integral part of the process of making the college more accessible to a diverse student clientele. Under their influence the process underwent a brief renaissance as noted above. The sessions organized by the committee were conducted in a large classroom and focused on a description of the procedures required for registration. The process was explained in detail using overhead transparencies to illustrate the movement from place to place, the location of faculty advisors and class cards and other activities of the process. The catalog was described as was the schedule of classes. Students were given instructions on how to complete their schedules with special attention to avoiding conflicts. The placement process was described and students were then directed to one of two rooms depending upon whether they had previously completed the placement examination.

The sessions organized and implemented by the advisement and registration committee became the basis for the video tape presentation administered by the work-study student. Thus, even reform movements did not interrupt the trend toward reducing the time commitments of full-time faculty to the increasing numbers of students. In fact, the process of adapting student services to the circumstances created by a part-time student body and large numbers of adjunct faculty bore more than a passing resemblance to some of the changes observed in the educational program and described in subsequent chapters.

Both students and faculty agreed that orientation was not a priority of the college. Future plans involved elimination of any form of orientation other than the video tape presentation due to lack of staff and money. For students who came with well developed concepts of why they were there and how to utilize the system, the brief video tape presentation was probably adequate. For those who were the first in their family to attend college or who lacked facility with the English language, the situation was quite different. The characteristics of the orientation process resulted in heavy emphasis on oral language and particularly student questioning skills. As with the admissions process, asking the right questions was extremely important.

Advisement and Placement

Academic advisement was geared toward helping students select classes rather than towards planning a program of study. Many faculty responded to questions about courses in their own department,

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exclusively. Thus, a student attempting to design a program might be referred to a number of departments without ever finding anyone who understood and could assist with a degree oriented objective.

Faculty were not unaware of the problems students experienced when seeking academic advising. Most felt the registration process provided inadequate assistance. Some were concerned about the amount of misinformation students received because of the lack of an effective advising system as well as the many alternative sources of information students were likely to encounter as they sought assistance from such sources as faculty, counselors, Chicano services, veterans affairs, special services and admissions. While faculty were generally unwilling to devote extra time to improving advising, they were emphatic about their resistance to having advising defined as a responsibility for counselors other than for undecided students.

Student objectives made a difference in the type of advising they received. Transfer students frequently had not identified their upper division majors and hence were viewed as no one's responsibility. Most faculty teaching transfer courses advised few students. Transfer students were likely to seek assistance from counselors, clubs or the catalog. Less frequently consulted were instructors.

At the opposite end of the continuum were developmental students who received a considerable amount of assistance from their instructors as well as from Chicano services and special services. In the middle range were occupational students who followed established programs and who were advised in course settings by their instructors.

Advisement sheets identifying required courses were available for each of the college degree programs. Many students, however, did not complete a copy of this form until just before graduation. As a result they were likely to make such errors as taking too many electives and too few requirements.

Students planning to take two courses or less were sent directly to registration. Those planning to attend full time or to take an English course were required to complete a student planning sheet and a self assessment scale as well as a placement examination. The results of the placement exam were used to determine whether students should be admitted to one of three levels of remedial English or to the standard college composition course. The arrangements for testing varied. One observer described the process:

> "When I got to the desk I found out I had been in the financial aid line and was told to see another secretary. I told that secretary that I was there for the 3:00 o'clock English placement test. She informed me that the test would only be given at 5:30 and 7:00 p.m. that evening...I decided to go back and ask if there was anyway I could get around the test...There was a middle-aged Mexican American male in line in front of me who also asked for the placement test. In broken English, he told the secretary that he could not return for the evening test and had been there all day and would like to take it now. She told him to wait a few minutes and she would give it to him. I got in front of the desk and said I would not be able to return that evening either. She told me to wait and she would also give me the test."

Others were not able to make such arrangements with the testing clerk and some did not take the exam, choosing instead to enroll in English 029 which could be accomplished without the exam.

For students whose placement scores indicated they should enroll in the basic studies program, an additional assessment procedure was established. The students encountering this procedure knew that their test scores were low. They make such remarks as, "Oh, am I going to have to take another test?" "Do you need to tell me something else?" Their actions including lowered heads and lack of eye contact suggested lowered self esteem. One observer's report contained several graphic descriptions of these students.

> TR is a young man who makes pizzas all day long and wants to improve his skills so he can get a better job. He has a brother who works in a nursery and he plans to take some horticultural courses to upgrade his job position. Very young and very willing, but again, has no skills - cannot read or write. There was a sense, on his part, that he wanted to do something besides making pizzas all day but also accepting the fact that he would be very limited because of his inability to read and write.
>
> My next student was a young woman who had come to college for the first time and who hates reading. (I was continually amazed at the verbal skills of all the people and, yet their real inability to cope with reading and the English test.) There was a very positive attitude about her wanting to improve her job skills and, at the same time, not ever enjoying reading. In fact, she had a history of all 12 years in school of really hating reading. She told me that her boss had advised her to look into some computer programming and that, when she found out that it would involve reading, she was really turned off to the idea.
>
> TG was a young Chicano woman who had dropped out of school after tenth grade and who appeared very, very eager to learn to read. She had very little skill in reading and felt insecure about doing any sort of writing. Very willing to be back in school and had a very positive attitude about what she felt she could accomplish, but the same theme appeared. There was a lot of shame and a lot of apologizing for the fact that she was a grown person and could not read.
>
> NO was a Korean girl who had been in the United States for about a month and a half and she came in with her father who wanted to answer all of the questions, could see immediately that she was able to understand a great deal...She had a very positive self-concept and wants to work in pathology and in nursing and appears to just lack spoken English.

Based on their scores on tests, students were referred either to block I or block II of the basic studies program.

One Spanish speaking participant observer registered as a full-time student without using English to replicate the experiences of monolingual Spanish speaking students. He reported becoming very frustrated because he could not communicate his message or find a person to direct him to the building where registration was taking place. Although the observer had difficulty getting directions to registration, he was finally able to communicate by showing someone the letter of acceptance he had received from the college. He was then directed to the Student Union where a campus security officer who was bilingual, told him to get out of line and talk to a person who was also bilingual. He was finally directed to a faculty advisor who helped him register for 12 hours in the intensive English as a second language program. He was also told about financial aid and introduced to the Chicano services staff. Persistence was a key requirement for his success.

Another participant observer reported her experiences in attempting to register as a developmental student. She manipulated her test scores to indicate eligibility for English 015, one of the lowest entering levels for remedial work. The counseling table, upon seeing her test scores, immediately referred her to the English department.

> There was an empty chair across from the woman under the English-Journalism sign. I sat down and explained what I had come for. She asked for my scores, I handed them over and immediately her manner changed from just neutral to one I could only describe as condescending. She said that I would have to talk with the woman at the end of the table.

The participant observer then was told that she should take English 015 but that there were no spaces left in any of the day sections. When she said she could not come for evening classes, the advisor suggested she might try English 029 and looked through those sections. Again, there were no cards. She was then advised once more to come in the evening if she wanted to take the class.

On returning to the counseling table, she was advised to defer English for a semester and start with something else. Math and history were suggested and courses selected. The observer then left the table and picked up the cards for her math and history courses. To see what would happen, she attempted to pick up a class card for English 101. A faculty member asked for her test scores and then told her she could not take 101 but had to enroll in 015. When she told him all of the sections were closed that she really needed an English class, she was told she couldn't take one; no exceptions would be made.

A participant observer who had decided on courses and wanted to attend part-time, moved quickly through the advisement-enrollment process. Having selected business as an area of interest, the observer was referred to the advisement table and asked if he needed help.

> I showed the completed form to the advisor. He had no questions; he just indicated that I needed to check the overhead screens for closed sections. I followed his advice, found sections that I wanted to take were closed and made a new schedule of classes. Upon my return to the table, I showed the same advisor a new schedule determined by the courses that were not closed. He asked if they were all open. Upon an affirmative answer, he told me, 'You better get to the class cards quick.'

Experiences for an "undecided" participant observer were more varied. At one registration, this observer was helped to select English and math courses but felt frustrated in not getting advice on other areas. In another instance, she was given very direct advice:

> I said that I had never been to college before and didn't know what I wanted to take but I thought I was interested in nursing. A faculty member said she knew just the course that would be good for me. She described the course and said that she was teaching it...I asked if I didn't have to take an English course first, but she said, no, not now. She said this course was really good because then I would find out if that was really what I wanted to study.

The observer also watched the same faculty member interact with other students at the advisement table to encourage them to enroll in her course. Thus, the advisement process represented an opportunity for faculty to recruit students. The faculty member described above was later observed to be recruiting students during the last hours of registration when most other classes were closed. The emphasis on filling their own classes helped explain why faculty felt so strongly about keeping control over class cards.

Schedule of Classes

The college document students were most likely to use during the registration process was the schedule of classes. Although its primary purpose was to provide information on time and location of courses, it also duplicated some information from the catalog in an introductory section. During our study the class schedule was revised to incorporate a section on vocabulary for college survival including such terms as "G.P.A." and "curricula". The schedule of classes was distributed during registration to all students who had not already obtained a copy.

To determine the reading and writing requirements of the class schedule, copies for Fall 1979, Spring 1980, and Fall 1980 were evaluated comparatively. Values were computed from randomly drawn samples for the Fall 1979 and Spring 1980 editions and are reported in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2

Comparative Readability Estimates of Two Editions of Oakwood's Schedule of Classes

	Fall 1979 Edition (Individual Sample Estimates)	Spring 1980 Edition (Individual Sample Estimates)
	17	14
	14	8
	14	8
	17	13
	14	10
	17	17
	17	14
	14	13
	17	10
	16	14
mean	15.7	12.1
range	14-17	8-17

Procedure-
FRY (1977)

rewrites only compared

There was a significant difference between the mean values for the two editions. Clearly, the Spring 1980 edition was written at a less sophisticated level of language usage. In addition, a major effort was made to consider student use. For example, substantial changes were noted between the two editions in format and design features as noted below:

1. Column Format: Changed from three column to two column, producing a less "busy" page of print.
2. Graphic Cueing: Greater use of boldface type to signal key ideas for readers.
3. Embedded Definitions: Terms likely to be unknown or ambiguous are defined in context.
4. Embedded Cueing: Intra-textual references directing the reader to other sections of the text for further relevant information are provided.
5. Personalization: Incorporates use of the pronoun 'you' which has the tendency to personalize information and affect tone.

6. Table of Contents: Inclusion of this feature provides the reader with an obvious resource to locate specific information more readily.
7. Topical Readings: Incorporate more effective use of differential type face and the restatement of major headings in the form of questions students are most likely to ask.
8. Glossary of Terms: Inclusion of section, headed "Vocabulary for College Survival" contains many terms associated with the role and status of being a college student.
9. Footnote Key: This key to footnotes, at the beginning of the course listing, is much more useful than the previous edition where footnote explanations were embedded at the end of course entries.

To illustrate the impact of some of these changes, excerpts from the original (1979) and the revised edition (1980) are presented in Figure 5.6. Under the heading entitled "1980 Edition", these features are highlighted by numbers keyed to the previous listing. As a result of these changes, the 1980 schedule of classes represented a more easily understood and useful tool. Significantly, it also reflected reduced demands on the reading and writing abilities of users.

The registration process was designed to expedite the flow of students and potential students into classes. Although the class schedule was intended to assist in this process, it was not necessary for students to read it. In fact, registration was the one college administrative task where assistance was readily available so that a student could complete the task without reading or writing. Oral language skills, asking questions and listening to advisors, were the crucial requirements for students needing assistance.

Student Services Related to Literacy

The processes of gaining admission, securing financial aid and becoming enrolled in classes imposed reading and writing tasks on students, that many were poorly prepared to assume. While some effort had been made to reduce the difficulty of printed materials and to make orientation and advising procedures more responsive to a nontraditional student clientele, a significant number of students were unable to cope with these tasks without extensive assistance. At the same time, administrative priorities relating to attaining and retaining new student populations required some accommodation. The solution was the development of several services to assist students with the administrative tasks of becoming enrolled as well as with the academic requirements of remaining enrolled. The most important of the new services were Chicano services, special services and the learning assistance center. Analysis of how these services operated reveals much about the changing nature of student characteristics as well as the specific adaptations through which traditional programs and services evolved into new configurations.

Chicano Services

One of the first of the new services at Oakwood was a special office for Chicano students. Originally designed to assist the college in recruitment, its stated purpose was to promote education in the Hispanic community and to assist individuals in the development of their educational goals. Chicano services had two major functions: outreach and on-campus services. Outreach activities included contacting local high schools, encouraging potential student attendance and working with community agencies. On-campus services included financial aid information, admissions and records information, referral to other services and non-campus agencies, as well as providing institutional information, job referrals, and transfer information for Chicano students.

Figure 5.6
Excerpts From Two Editions of Oakwood's Shedule of Classes

Fall, 1979 Edition*

ADMISSION PROCEDURES ALL STUDENTS

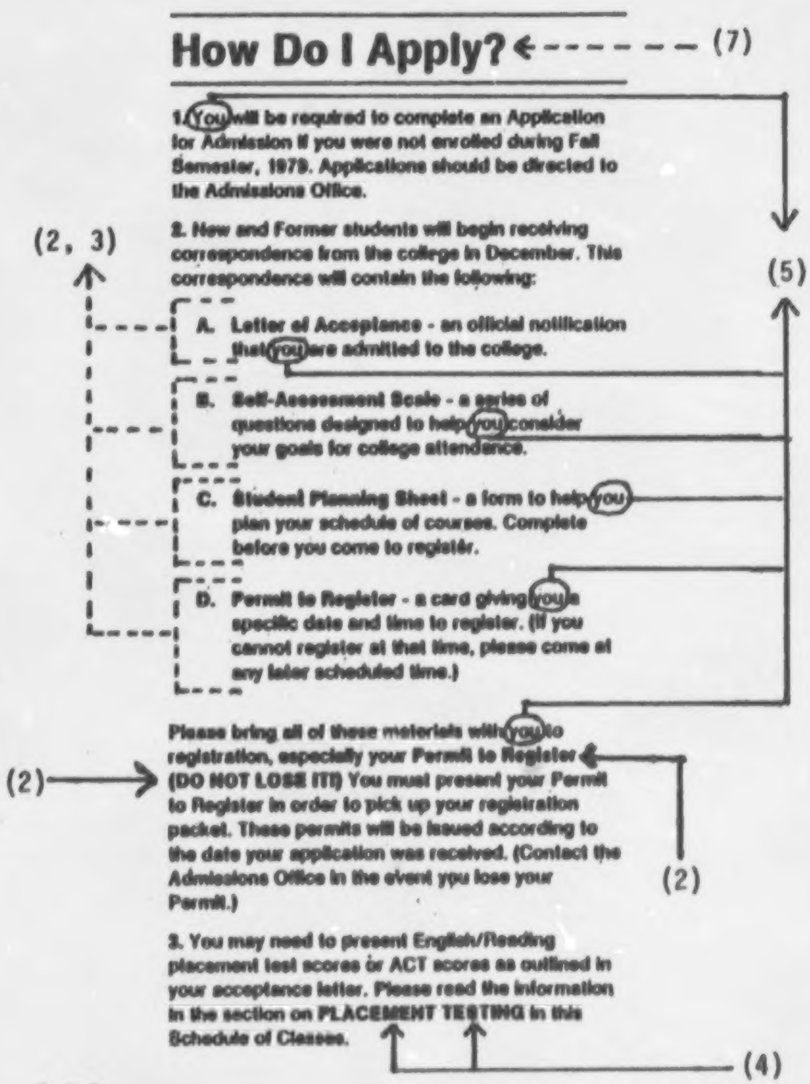
1. An application is required of all people except those enrolled spring semester, 1978-79.

2. New and former students will be issued Permits to Register according to the date the application is received. Every student must present a "Permit to Register" before entering the registration area.

3. ACT scores or English/ Reading placement test scores are required per acceptance letter. See information on placement exams.

4. Loss of Permit forfeits original position; contact Admissions Office for next available time.

Spring, 1980 Edition*



How Do I Apply?

1. You will be required to complete an Application for Admission if you were not enrolled during Fall Semester, 1979. Applications should be directed to the Admissions Office.

2. New and Former students will begin receiving correspondence from the college in December. This correspondence will contain the following:

- A. Letter of Acceptance - an official notification that you are admitted to the college.
- B. Self-Assessment Scale - a series of questions designed to help you consider your goals for college attendance.
- C. Student Planning Sheet - a form to help you plan your schedule of courses. Complete before you come to register.
- D. Permit to Register - a card giving you a specific date and time to register. (If you cannot register at that time, please come at any later scheduled time.)

Please bring all of these materials with you to registration, especially your Permit to Register (DO NOT LOSE IT!) You must present your Permit to Register in order to pick up your registration packet. These permits will be issued according to the date your application was received. (Contact the Admissions Office in the event you lose your Permit.)

3. You may need to present English/Reading placement test scores or ACT scores as outlined in your acceptance letter. Please read the information in the section on PLACEMENT TESTING in this Schedule of Classes.

*These excerpts explain the same administrative task.

Chicano services provided incentive for Chicanos to take advantage of the "open door". According to a participant observer, it had positive impact on Spanish speaking students, particularly those with limited English skills. Many Chicano students received initial information about the college from Chicano services as well as assistance in applying for admission. They continued to use the service after enrollment. Students who had not been recruited through Chicano services frequently heard about it from their friends or from the Chicano student club on campus.

A Spanish speaking participant observer described two students who had been recruited by Chicano services.

> Ricardo is 20 and Jose is 22. Jose just became a citizen of the United States and Ricardo is a legal alien. They were born in Mexico and come from a family of eleven. Their family works in the onion fields. During their school years they missed a lot of days because they had to work in the fields. They still have to take classes in the afternoon because their first allegiance is to their family and the whole family is required to work in the fields in order to make enough profit to survive. Ricardo and Jose represent the stories we hear about being pulled out of the onion fields to come to school. They were recruited by Chicano services and if it were not for financial aid they would not be able to attend. They started out in developmental classes, are now in transfer programs and plan to continue their education at the university. Ricardo and Jose spoke only broken English when they entered Oakwood, so they had a hard time finding a work-study position. Eventually both worked at Chicano services.

The important factors that contributed to the effectiveness of Chicano services were language, informality, direct assistance with forms, and referrals to other services or community agencies. Many students lacked the English language skills, both oral and written, to complete forms required by the institution so special attention was given to assisting them with the admissions and financial aid applications.

Chicano services provided a support system for the Hispanic population, many of whom were Spanish dominant and lacked prior academic preparation. The extent to which students continued to rely on Chicano services as they progressed through the college, depended on their fluency with English.

Chicano services staff reported the number of Chicano students on campus had increased because of their recruitment efforts. For many students Chicano services was a place where they could find a friendly, brown face or a compadre. For students in the intensive English for Spanish speakers program, who spoke little English, Chicano services was described as being particularly helpful as a central place where students were able to find someone willing to talk with them in their own language.

The students who used this service gave it the highest rating of all services. They reported using the service for assistance with financial aid, language problems, survival and orientation. Faculty were less positive without being specific in their criticisms. Some saw it as more of a club than a service. The concern about the impact of students with nontraditional patterns of language usage on educational programs was reflected in the comments of one transfer instructor who opposed bilingual education and suggested that students "better learn to speak English".

Special Services

Following the establishment of Chicano services, a proposal was written for federal funding for a special services program to assist students by providing support and instructional services for the handicapped, limited English speaking, and low-income. The office of special services also assumed responsibility for the advisement of international students. While this program continued to receive support from federal funds, over time the director and one counselor were transferred to the College budget.

Services provided to eligible students included: testing by referral to the testing center, development of an educational plan, development of a class schedule for each semester, and continuing contact related to specific student needs. Special services also provided some support for tutors at the learning assistance center (LAC) when eligible students were referred.

Handicapped students sought assistance with mobility problems, limited English speaking students used the office as a comfortable place to bring their questions and saw staff as individuals to whom they could relate. In addition to requests for assistance with academic advisement, students also brought concerns about grades, transportation, housing and college related procedural matters. In some ways, special services and Chicano services were competitors. When Chicano services was established it had been staffed by paraprofessionals who knew the language and were familiar with the communities in which their clients lived. Almost from the beginning, responsibilities for recruiting were matched by efforts by Chicano services to make traditional Oakwood services responsive to the students that recruiting produced. The traditional services, however, were staffed by professionals who saw the emergence of Chicano services as an implied criticism of their ability to work with nontraditional students. The professionals in particular resented the idea that their actions should in any way be guided by the suggestions or preferences of Chicano services staff members whom they saw lacking the professional training that would have permitted their treatment as equals.

Special services, thus, was an attempt to establish an alternative to Chicano services, staffed with professionals who would be more acceptable to the professionals staffing traditional student services as well as to the faculty. In addition, there was the perceived need to respond to handicapped students and others needing special assistance besides Hispanics. Of course, compromises carry their own attenuating factors. The Director of special services while a professional with a Hispanic surname was not bilingual. The staff included a Spanish speaking professional counselor but the service never became the home-away-from-home that Chicano services represented for Spanish speaking students. And when Black students asked for their own service to provide equal attention for their needs, special services was not seen as the appropriate response. Still, the ten percent or so of the students who did use special services gave it the second highest rating of all services.

Learning Assistance Center

The learning assistance center (LAC) was established to provide tutorial assistance to students having difficulty with course work. In addition to tutoring, the LAC provided study skills workshops, makeup exams for classes, and a number of handouts on various study skill areas. Tutors assisted students by giving them tips about how to prepare for exams and how to write papers.

The demand for tutorial assistance grew steadily after creation of the LAC. During its heaviest month in the 1979-80 academic year, the LAC provided 2,392 hours of tutoring to 340 tutees. Although tutoring was provided in all subjects, the majority of students using the LAC came for assistance in math, English, reading and accounting. The greatest number of students were tutored in freshman math courses and in developmental English courses.

Students using the LAC needed more instructional time and preferred more individualized/personalized instruction. One of the main functions of the LAC was to provide this one-on-one assistance through tutoring to assist students in mastering content and strengthening study skills. Both tutors and their clients viewed the tutoring experience positively. Tutors felt their tutees would have received lower grades without tutoring. Tutees responded similarly indicating that they would have failed or withdrawn without this assistance.

Because it provided individualized assistance to students, the LAC was also a support mechanism for faculty. Rather than having to spend more time with the increasing numbers of students they often described as underprepared, the faculty were able to refer them for assistance. Thus, an important justification for the LAC involved the inability of instructors to accomplish the instructional function for some students within the constraints of the classroom. From this perspective, it was clear that the LAC represented an important adaptive strategy for coping with increasing numbers of students who needed assistance in meeting the academic requirements of the college.

Many faculty had been resistant initially to the establishment of the LAC, because they felt such a service should not be necessary. By the time of our study, however, the number of students served had tripled and in faculty interview samples, the LAC was the most frequently cited referral. Faculty frequently mentioned the LAC as a particularly effective service. One faculty member described it as more important than other services because of the purpose of the college. A developmental English instructor suggested that her students improved drastically with tutoring.

The importance of these new services in developmental programs was evident from the description of two Spanish speaking female students observed during their first semester on campus.

> Both Buanita and Yolanda work for the LAC and are monolingual, Spanish speaking students. Buanita is 27 years old and Yolanda a citizen of Columbia. Both women had the same goal in mind, they were attending Oakwood to learn English so that they could become American citizens and get a job. Neither could have gone to school full time without financial aid. Buanita and Yolanda were almost totally dependent on their basic studies block instructors for any knowledge they had about adapting to the Oakwood campus. They were aware of some services but only because they had been introduced to them by these instructors. Yolanda hadn't used any services and the ones Buanita used were the ones she was told to use by her instructors or counselor. They did virtually everything for her - took her to the service, filled out the forms for her, etc.

All three of the more recently established services for special clientele, though not used by a large percentage of students, were given high satisfaction ratings. Although all three met with initial faculty resistance, the two perceived to have the most direct bearing on the classroom, the LAC for tutoring and special services for the handicapped, had subsequently developed a reasonable level of faculty support. Given the emphasis of Chicano services on recruitment as well as its role in establishing the program in intensive English for Spanish speakers, it was not surprising that faculty seemed "less clear" about the purpose of this service and did not refer students. It was Chicano services that faculty identified as responsible for the recruitment of migrant laborers from the onion fields into their college contributing to their concerns about the changing nature of the student population.

Summary

The majority of students at Oakwood did not seem interested in obtaining degrees. The emphasis of student services as well as the print materials they produced reflected this absence of concern with programs and program completion. The advising system and the catalog reflected a begign neglect of the degree oriented student. While the part of the catalog that dealt with course requirements and program sequences was out-of-date and contained errors and inconsistencies, the sections that covered administrative requirements were carefully reviewed and corrected with each new printing. Administrators were very sensitive about accuracy in sections dealing with student obligations. The lack of attention to program sequences was also reflected in the class schedule which gave little priority to arranging classes so that full time students could complete degree requirements in reasonable time periods. Administrators in the Richfield District as in other community college systems across the country explained the small number of graduates in relation to total enrollments as a consequence of student preferences. Our own observations suggested the the institution might have been inadvertently imposing a number of obstacles to program completion by devoting an increasing share of its total resources to drop-in and drop-out part-time students.

The literacy requirements for completing administrative tasks seemed to be the product of evolutionary forces acting to alter the nature of a procedure or to provide alternatives for its use. The extent to which services or administrative requirements were modified by the increase in students whose objectives and language competencies differed markedly from a more traditional clientele depended upon the intensity and duration of staff/student interaction. For administrative requirements such as admissions, registration and financial aid, where student/staff contact was episodic and of brief duration, procedures demonstrated substantial resistance to modification. In essence the nature of these processes was determined by interaction between faculty and staff. The principal criteria for evaluating their success was the absence of inconvenience for staff and keeping time requirements for faculty as limited as possible.

For administrative tasks related to admissions, securing financial aid and enrolling in classes, literacy demands remained at relatively high levels. The adaptation process for these tasks involved the creation of alternative services designed to mediate between these demands and the declining reading and writing skills of students. Such new offices as Chicano services and special services actually assumed reading and writing responsibilities for their clients. All services including admissions and financial aid placed more emphasis on oral language use so that students who persisted and who were able to ask the right questions could negotiate the institutional requirements.

Services such as the learning assistance center characterized by more frequent contacts between staff and students as well as interaction of greater intensity followed a different scenario in working with students whose language competencies differed in marked ways from traditional expectations for college students. Reading and writing skills were not a requirement for the use of such services. While descriptive written information was produced, the language and format was much simpler than for admissions, financial aid and registration. Most students found out about such services through word of mouth.

Although large numbers of print materials were produced for students at Oakwood, only a few emerged as consequential to the process used by students to accomplish required tasks. These included the college catalog, the schedule of classes and the application forms associated with admissions, registration and student financial aid. These materials could be grouped into two categories according to their functional purposes. The catalog and schedule represented materials directed toward reading to learn. The application forms required "reading to do" followed by writing to complete the task.

With the exception of the student financial aid application, most students described print materials as only somewhat troublesome. They also described sources of assistance, places to take forms for help or to obtain information. Students read the catalog and schedule but not in the comprehensive manner expected by staff. Rather, they used them as reference tools. The information used was almost always limited to college courses, when they were offered, who taught them and content.

The lesson apparent from this analysis is that literacy demands in an institutional setting are the product of a negotiation process that takes into account several variables. The language competencies of the clients are critical as are the preferences and objectives of the professional staff. Where contacts with services are episodic and of low intensity, staff convenience is the primary determinant. Under these conditions, requirements may persist at levels beyond the capabilities of a changing clientele. Where this happens, as at Oakwood, alternatives must be found. The two alternatives we observed included the development of new services which performed the tasks for student as well as increased reliance on informal exchange through use of oral language.

Where students interact with services on a regular basis the alternatives suitable for episodic contact proved inadequate. Services having frequent student contact adapted by changing the level of difficulty of their printed information and by relying much more heavily on oral communication and word-of-mouth. One of the most heavily used and highly regarded services from the perspective of Hispanic students at Oakwood was Chicano services. Contributing to the effectiveness of this service was its location in the center of the cafeteria.

Special services was less well known because it occupied a relatively obscure location remote from administrative offices and centers of college activity. Providing nontraditional students with highly visible, central locations for obtaining information promoted success in accessing college services and completing administrative requirements by reducing the level of persistence required.

Thus, lack of reading and writing skills did not constitute a barrier to access at Oakwood provided that students were willing to persist. Of course, oral language use was a critical factor in succeeding. To complete administrative tasks related to admission, registration and obtaining financial aid, alternative strategies were available requiring essentially different forms of language competency. Some of these same strategies characterized the classroom environment as described in the following chapters.

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CHAPTER VI

READING AND WRITING IN OAKWOOD CLASSROOMS

From a transactional perspective, a discussion of classroom literacy involves talk about reading and writing but also includes a consideration of the ongoing classroom activity within which reading and writing behaviors occur as well as of the motivations and contexts for that activity. By observing patterns among the features of classroom activity, context, motivations, and reading and writing behaviors themselves, we have been able to identify several varieties of classroom literacy at Oakwood which will be described in the following three chapters.

Reading and Writing as Operations

We begin our consideration of literacy with a description of the reading and writing we observed. Collecting this data was not always an easy task primarily because much of the reading and writing that occurred in classrooms was so integrated into ongoing activities that it was not immediately recognized by students, instructors, or researchers. For example, when we asked students if any in-class writing occurred, they would often say "no" until the interviewer asked if they took notes. Then they would agree that they did, in fact, write in class. Similarly, students at first would say they never "read" the textbook but then would describe how they used the textbook as part of the activity of studying for the test. Behaviors like reading and writing, when they are used in this manner, i.e. almost unconsciously as part of goal-directed activities, can be considered from a transactional perspective to have the status of operations.

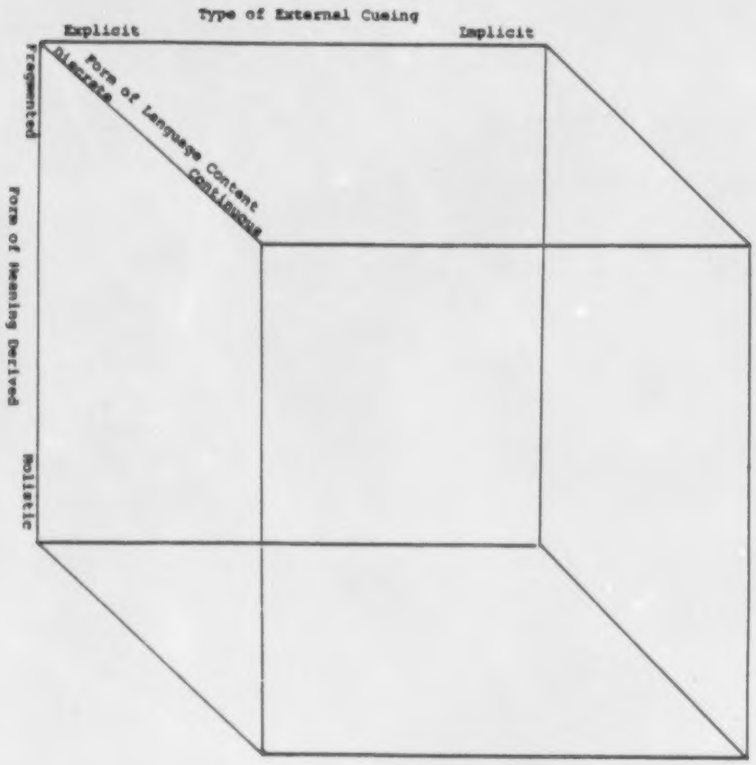
Several characteristics of operations are salient to our progress. The channel can be specified in order to distinguish operations which involve written language (reading and writing), oral language (listening and speaking), and non-language channels (observing and manipulating). A second needed distinction differentiates productive operations from receptive operations. Productive operations in the classroom include writing, speaking and manipulation, while receptive operations include reading, listening and observing. This distinction between productive and receptive operations can be referred to as the direction of the operation. Using these first two factors, six types of operations can be identified.

	Channel		
Direction	Written Language	Oral Language	Non-Verbal Language
Productive	Writing	Speaking	Manipulating
Receptive	Reading	Listening	Observing

Classroom activities can be categorized by considering which of these six types of operations are performed by students and by instructors, but this classification alone cannot account for the distinctions among operations made by the participants and researchers. Three additional dimensions have proven to be essential to an adequate description of the operations we observed in college classrooms: 1) the form in which information is provided - from continuous to discrete; 2) the sort of meaning students seek from this information - from fragmented to holistic; and 3) the explicitness of the cues to meaning provided to the participant.

Theoretically, operations could vary independently on each of these three dimensions, suggesting a wide variety of possible types of operations. (See Figure 6.1 which illustrates the conceptual framework for operations generated by our research staff.)

Figure 6.1
Three dimensions of contrast in college classroom operations


Type of External Cueing
Explicit
Implicit
Form of Language Content
Discrete
Continuous
Form of Meaning Derived
Fragmented
Holistic

However, it was not necessary to utilize the full potential of these three dimensions in order to describe the operations we observed. Rather, we considered only two contrasting cases:

Texting - operations utilized to comprehend or compose holistic meaning in connected discourse (texts) without the aid of explicit external cues.

Reading a newspaper for an overview of important events of the day,

Listening to a psychology lecture for an understanding of the rationale behind experimental procedures.

Writing an essay or giving a speech of an argument for and against capital punishment.

Bitting - operations utilized to comprehend or produce fragmented meaning in disconnected or connected discourse (bits) with the aid of explicit external cues.

Note that two forms of bitting are suggested here, one that involves connected discourse and one disconnected discourse. However, both forms of information are used to achieve bits of meaning rather than holistic meaning and both utilize external cues:

> Bitting in disconnected discourse:
>
> Reading and copying a numbered list of names from a blackboard (which the instructors points to and identifies as important) in order to recognize these names when they appear on a multiple-choice test.
>
> Reproducing a one word answer to a discrete instructor's question which repeats the previous day's drill.
>
> Bitting in connected discourse:
>
> Skimming a textbook to find answers to study guide questions to prepare for a multiple-choice test which will contain approximately the same questions.
>
> Listening to a lecture to find those bits of instructor-cued information that will be asked on the test.

Clearly, bitting and texting are extreme forms, and few operations would represent a pure case of one or the other. However, the examples in our data did resemble these two cases to an extent that made it possible and useful in our analysis to categorize each operation as bitting or texting on the basis of which of these forms it most nearly approximated.

We are suggesting that a traditional view of literacy involves a prototype characterized by certain types of operations. Operations in prototypical literacy would seem to involve the use of a written channel, both productively and receptively, in a texting manner. Individuals would be said to be "really reading" and "really writing" when they were dealing with connected discourse and holistic meanings without the help of external cues. In this section, we will demonstrate that the reading and writing we observed in course-related events at Oakwood did not usually fit this prototype but more often involved operations which were receptive, multimodal and concerned with fragmented meanings with the help of extensive cueing.[1]

Overview of Findings on Reading and Writing Operations

Reading and writing are pervasive in the classroom at Oakwood Community College.[2] However, while outsiders might remark on the quantity of reading and writing they observe they will probably also be surprised by its limited nature. Reading and writing activity is restricted in terms of both the manner in which it is carried out and the functions it seems to serve.

In-class reading and writing occur as part of a multimodal activity. In other words, reading and writing are used in conjunction with oral language during communicative events within the classroom.[3] The multimodal nature of language use has been noted as a characteristic of modern society. Dubois (1981), for example, makes the following comments about language use today:

> Writing has made an irreversible difference in our ideas of what language is. Linguists should cease countering the early modern notion of the primacy of writing with the equally mistaken one of the primacy of speech, at least for literate Western groups. And instead, deal with the crucial question of the

> interrelation of the two forms of coexistent behavior. Our notion of language is now inescapably conditioned by writing. (underlining added)

Walter Ong (1980) calls the language tradition of modern times "secondary orality". While acknowledging that oral communication is becoming increasingly important in modern society, especially with the widespread use of media, he insists that this does not mean a return to the characteristics of an oral tradition. People in modern societies do not communicate or think the way individuals in preliterate societies do. We are only beginning to understand the complexities of communicating and thinking with the joint use of both written and oral language as tools.

> Secondary orality in other words is to varying degrees, literate. In fact, a residual primary orality, literacy, and secondary orality are interacting vigorously with one another in confusing complex patterns in our secondarily oral world. (Ong, 1980, p. 103)

The classroom activities we observed at Oakwood would not have been the same without the existence of written language. The activities of instructor and students, the physical equipment in the room, and the arrangement of furniture all suggested that reading and writing would be engaged in within that classroom setting. In addition, the oral language of these classrooms is generally of a sort that depends on the use of written language in its preparation, presentation and further utilization. A college lecture, for example, is based on the instructors' own readings, prepared with the aid of notes and presented with the help of blackboard writing. The lecture content will be utilized when students write and read class notes, read the textbook, and later complete the written test. On the other hand, the reading and writing that occurred, both in and outside the classroom, was not of a type that could be used to communicate information by itself. The very nature of the reading and writing we observed reflected the fact that it would be used along with oral communication.[4]

Along with the observation of the multimodal nature of language use in the classroom comes the observation that reading and writing are part of a social interaction in this setting and are shaped by its general nature. Students and instructors use reading and writing in ways which are appropriate for the roles they play in that setting. Since the most typical form of social interaction involved a receptive student and productive instructor,[5] reading and writing in the modal type of classroom we observed were used by the students as part of receptive activity.

Even the out-of-class, less social uses of reading draw heavily on prior experience in the social interaction of the classroom. It is interesting to note that while some asocial reading (out of the context of social interaction) is characteristic of Oakwood college students, writing out of the context of social interaction seems to be virtually non-existent for them.

The social nature of most student reading and writing means that it seldom occurs independent of external cues. During a lecture, for example, students have little difficulty knowing what to take notes on. They record what the instructor writes on the board, what his prosodic and nonverbal cues tell them is important and what other students take notes on. In addition, important information in the textbook is usually cued orally by the instructor's lecture and in writing by specific study guides. These cues enable students to read by skimming for important information. Consequently students are required to do very little analysis and synthesis as they read or write. The primary input is designated bits of information, and when it comes to a test, these bits are outputted without much transformation. In other words, operations are predominantly of a bitting type. In contrast, texting, the reading or writing of extended prose for the purposes of coming to comprehend a more holistic meaning does not occur for most students as part of their college classroom experiences.

This use of written language conformed to some more general characteristics of social interaction, communication and thinking typical of this setting. The dissemination of bits of information and the lack of extended language production are characteristic of the oral as well as the written mode of communication in the classroom setting.[6]

Reading and writing in this setting are not engaged in as ends in and of themselves but are always tools or means to some other end. The participants do not invest value in the activities of reading and writing as holding aesthetic, cognitive or other satisfactions in and of themselves. While instructors reported that they continued to place some value in reading and writing for their own sake, they admitted that students did not. While teachers complained about student attitudes toward reading and writing as well as their skill level, they did not engage students in activities designed to improve attitudes or skill level. Faculty perceived that they were not responsible for reading and writing skills and felt that the "return" for pursuing noncontent-related objectives did not warrant the investment of large quantities of time and effort.

Our results correlate with the data reported by Heath (1980) in a study of literacy in home settings. Although the community she studied was literate, most of the reading and writing occurred during social interactions. Reading and writing almost never stood alone. There was almost no solitary reading by individuals except when elderly men and women read their Bible alone. Heath reported that the literacy habits of the families she studied do not fit those usually attributed to fully literate groups. They do not read to their children, encourage conversational dialogue on books, they do not write or read extended prose passages. Reading is not an individual pursuit nor is it considered to have intellectual aesthetic or critical rewards.

Our findings about literacy in the classroom also dovetail with the findings of Scribner and Jacob Note 1, Mikulecky and Diehl Note 2, and Jacob & Crandall Note 3 concerning literacy in job settings. As in job-related literacy research, we found that people often fail to report much of the reading and writing they do because it has become so integrated into everyday tasks and also because it does not fit their conception of what real reading and writing should be.

> Literacy activities may involve reading and writing short term notes and messages, filing and retrieving information from documents to answer a short question over the telephone. These would rarely be identified as literacy activities by people performing them, yet they require reading and writing and in fact, they occur frequently during the work day. It is these kinds of activities which people often discount as "not really reading". (Jacob and Crandall, Note 3, p. 3)

Students we interviewed often reported that the way they took notes or the way they read their textbook was not "really writing or reading".

This discussion suggests a contrast between the characteristics of reading and writing observed in Oakwood classroom (and in some home and work settings) and those of a more prototypical "reading and writing". The following table captures that contrast:

Table 6.1
Comparison of course-related reading and writing
with more prototypical reading and writing

COURSE RELATED READING & WRITING	PROTOTYPICAL READING & WRITING
1. Occurs as part of a multimodal language activity.	1. Occurs as an isolated unimodal activity.
2. Occurs as part of social interaction.	2. Occurs as a solitary independent activity.
3. Is aided by external cues indicating importance and meaning.	3. Meaning and importance are derived in text without external cues.
4. Individuals deal with preselected bits of meaning.	4. Individuals strive for holistic meaning.
5. Is a tool - not an end in itself.	5. Has intrinsic value - independent of use as a tool.

Three Varieties of Reading and Writing

We have suggested that the characteristics of reading and writing are consistent with more general characteristics of the social scene in which they are performed. We would expect the nature of reading and writing to change when the social scene changes, and also to change when the individuals performing the reading and writing have atypical objectives. Data from Oakwood Community College reflect the overall characteristics we have been describing as well as the existence of variations when the classroom setting or the characteristics of individual students vary.

Three variations in reading and writing emerged from our analysis of operations. They were associated with three types of courses which we termed information transfer courses (the predominant type in our data), basic language skills courses, and vocational lab courses. Though the three-way grouping was originally made in terms of the actual activities observed in these courses, these particular labels were chosen on the basis of the motivational orientations we later found to be associated with these course types. A comparison of the reading and writing in these three types of courses is summarized in Table 6.2.

In comparing the operational characteristics of events associated with these three course types, we note first that the primary variant in each category involves reading and writing which occurs within a multimodal activity. The dominant information transfer course type, however involves primarily receptive language while the language skills course involves productive language operations and the vocational lab course involves productive activity which includes non-language operations.[7]

While all three course types involve bitting operations, there is some difference in the types of cueing provided. In developmental language skills courses, the bitting type of reading and writing required was immediately and heavily cued by the instructor's words, the written texts, and the social interaction during which it occurred. In information transfer courses, the bitting required in notetaking and studying for tests was cued but less immediately or heavily. Students recalled the words of instructors and utilized study guides but usually more independence in the search for bits was required. In vocational lab courses, the cues to bitting in shop manuals came more from the lab content and activity itself than from other language sources.

Table 6.2

Features of Operations in Three Course Types

Dominant Type

Information-Transfer Courses	Basic Language Skills Courses	Vocational-Lab Courses
Primary Variant (for lecture events)	Primary Variant (for drill & individual workbook events)	Primary Variant (for lab and drill events)
1. Involves reading & writing	1. Involves reading & writing	1. Involves reading & writing
2. Multimodal	2. Multimodal	2. Multimodal
3. Receptive language	3. Productive language	3. Productive non-language
4. Bitting-language cued.	4. Bitting-heavily language cued.	4. Bitting--context cued.
Second Variant (for reading the text)	Second Variant (for discussions)	Second Variant (for demonstration lectures & audio-visuals
1. Involves reading	1. No reading & writing	1. No reading & writing
2. Unimodal	2. Unimodal	2. Unimodal
3. Receptive	3. Receptive/productive language	3. Receptive
4. Texting.	4. Texting.	4. Texting.

Each of these course types had a second less frequent sort of event which required some texting. However, only in the information transfer course did this texting involve written language. In these courses, many students read their texts through once before using them to study for the tests. This reading, in contrast to in-class activities, was unimodal but it was still receptive. No productive texting (i.e. composing) was required orally or in writing in or out of class.

Productive texting was not usually required in vocational lab courses but students were required to text aurally during demonstration and audio-visual lectures. By this we mean that they received a continuous flow of language from which they were to seek a holistic understanding of the task being demonstrated and that they were not given explicit cues to the important parts of the lecture. Of the three main course types, only language skills courses required productive texting and this was an oral form of texting required during class discussions.

Written Materials in the Classroom

In light of these descriptions of the operations of reading and writing, it is interesting to consider the characteristics of the written materials used in these classrooms. Our materials analysis considered overall readability, as well as suitability for bitting and/or texting (see Methodological Appendix) Table 6.3 summarizes the analysis of materials in the 27 courses we observed. Overall, most materials seemed fairly well suited for both types of reading. However, in information transfer courses, texts lent themselves more readily to bitting than texting. One could even speculate that attempting to text these materials would cause considerable difficulty for readers. We found that in these classes, when materials were given high ratings for texting, students did report reading their book outside class in a texting fashion, at least in the early part of a semester. However, in all these courses, interviews indicated a decreasing incidence of independent texting even by the active participants. Apparently, even when suitable materials were available, students, over time, did only the reading they found to be necessary. When they found that tests could be passed with minimal reading, they dropped the luxury of investing time in that activity.

Table 6.3

Analysis of Materials from 20 Courses in Terms of Readability and Suitability for Bitting and Texting[1]

Course	Genre	Readability Rating			Suitability Rankings (SR) 1-Most Suitable Least-9[2]	
		Mean M	Variability	Range R	For Bitting	For Texting
Nondevelopmental, Nonlab Courses						
Business Statistics (GB 201)	Text	16.8	2.5	13-17	4	4
American History (HI 103)	Text	16.5	3.4	10-17	1	3
Introductory Psychology (PY 101)	Text	14.8	2.7	9-17+	1	2
Western Civilization (HI 101)	Text	14.3	2.8	8-17+	8	9
Introductory Business (GB 151)	Text	14.0	1.9	8-17	1	1
Economics (EC 201)	Text	11.7	4.2	7-17	1	1
English Composition (EN 102)	Instructors Manual	11.6	3.1	6-17	-	-
Nutrition (HE 141)	Text	11.5	2.9	5-17+	1	1
College Algebra (MA 117)	Text	11.3	3.0	7-17+	2	1
Introductory Electronics (EL 100)	Text	11.1	3.3	7-17+	6	4
English Composition (EN 102)	Anthology	7.6	5.8	2-17	5	6
Lab Courses						
Microbiology (BI 203)[3]	Lab Manual	15.0	2.5	7-17	2	2
Experimental Psychology (PY 290)	First Text	14.2	3.0	8-17	1	3
Experimental Psychology (PY 290)	Second Text	13.5	4.6	8-17	1	2
Automotives (AU 104)	Text	12.3	3.5	7-17+	1	1
Automotives (AU 104)	Lab Manual	12.3	3.6	8-17+	1	2
Office Machines (OE 205)	Instructors Manual	10.3	2.9	6-17	3	2

Table 6.3 (Continued)

Analysis of Materials from 20 Courses in Terms of Readability and Suitability for Bitting and Texting[1]

Course	Genre	Readability Rating			Suitability Rankings (SR) 1-Most Suitable Least-9[2]	
		Mean $\bar{M}$	Variability	Range R	For Bitting	For Texting
Developmental Courses						
Block II Reading (RE 059)	Readings	9.8	3.3	6-17+	3	1
Developmental English (EN 015)	Readings	8.8	2.8	3-15	9	8
Developmental Reading (RE 098)[4]	Workbook	7.7	2.1	4-12	6	6
Reading ESL (RE 010)	Readings	7.0	2.0	2-16	6	6
Developmental English (EN 015)	Readings	6.7	2.0	2-10	3	2
Block I Math (MA 059)[5]	Workbook	-	-	--	1	1

1 - Seven courses in the ethnographic sample are not included in this analysis because written materials were not used by most students or because materials did not include extended prose passages.

2 - Because of the nature of the ranking system, a difference of 1 is considered to be meaningful.

3 - There was also a text for this course, but it was used by very few students and the instructor discouraged its use.

4 - This course was not included in other analyses because only selected observations were carried out.

5 - Only format was considered because there was no extended prose.

This picture of adaptive efficiency is strengthened by information from classes where texts were never used much independently, despite apparent suitability. The Automotives text, for example, was not read by the majority of students (although the manual was used). The College Algebra text was seldom "read" (i.e. texted). Students used it to copy problems for homework, check answers in the back of the book and follow example problems presented as models before each exercise. Nothing in the activities of these courses would have necessitated reading the text, so they did not. All necessary information was presented by the instructor or in more immediately available print (e.g. the sample problems in the Algebra book, the manual in the Automotives course).

When materials were used which had low suitability ratings for the type of reading required, there was usually evidence of extensive mediation on the part of instructors and/or negative attitudes from students. In an English Composition course (English 102), for example, the instructor gave daily quizzes entailing the recall of specific details such as names and numbers from the reading assignments in an anthology. This required the students to independently "bit" the material - to read for the purpose of identifying details of information that the instructor would be likely to test. Our materials analysis rated the book as rather low in suitability for such a bitting task. In addition, it showed this text to have a low readability level (7.6) but a very high level of variability (standard deviation = 5.8 and a range of 2-17). Students reported the task of bitting this text to be highly distasteful and, in fact, staged what the participant observer called "a revolt" in the second week of the semester.

In another class, the instructor compensated for the low suitability of the materials for texting. Despite the fact that the textbook had a college-level readability (14.3), high variability in difficulty and low suitability for texting, History 101 was listed in the Faculty Advisors' Handbook as a possible course for students with low reading levels. Interview data seemed to show that students found the book difficult to read, and the results of a close test showed very few of the students could read the text at an independent level. However, the instructor had gone to considerable trouble to mediate the reading of the text for the students. He had had a summer grant to prepare a sixty-page syllabus which guided the students through the book and through his lectures. Most students only utilized the text after the lecture and in order to answer the take-home, open-book, multiple-choice test presented in the syllabus. The answers to these questions came in the order of presentation in the text and used similar wording. The exam was, in many cases, simply a recognition test. An error analysis of the items on one of these open-book exams showed that most student errors came on questions that required some reading of extended passages. As one young woman described it, "Mostly, you don't have to really read the text, just find answers to the questions in the study guide."

Texts in language skills courses, although "easier" in terms of readability appeared somewhat less suitable for either form of reading than information transfer course materials. These texts may have required, and in most cases received, more mediating activity on the instructor's part. According to the assumptions underlying this analysis, such mediational activity would be a function of the type of reading expected and the characteristics of the text even more than differences in the reading competencies of the students. These examples point to the fact that information about written materials and reading and writing behavior cannot be understood without a consideration of the overall nature of the goal-directed activity within which it occurs.

From Reading and Writing to Literacy

We have been discussing varying characteristics of reading and writing operations associated with events in three kinds of courses. In the sections which follow, the covariation of the characteristics of operations will be related to regular patterns of covariation in aspects of classroom activity - its context and motivations. In this way, we expand a discussion of reading and writing to a consideration of literacy. In the chapters which follow, we will build profiles of three varieties of literacy associated with each of the types of reading and writing we have described above. First, Chapters 7 and 8 consider the motivational orientations of students and the course objectives of faculty. Then, Chapter 9 describes the classroom events that were the context for literacy.

While the patterns of covariation characterizing these varieties of literacy may at first seem intuitive, this does not diminish their significance in interpreting literacy. We are all, to some degree, "natives" of the classroom scenes described and have internalized these patterns of covariation so that we may well not be surprised that students with certain motivational orientations take on certain styles of classroom participation. Nor may it be surprising that these participation styles are associated with characteristic forms of reading and writing. However, to an individual unfamiliar with our culture, these associations would not be so predictable. The ability to anticipate these relationships reflects our sociocultural competence and familiarity with underlying rules which govern interaction in college classrooms. It is the purpose of this report to bring these "invisible" patterns of covariation in classroom literacy to the attention of educators and researchers in order to stimulate further inquiry and more focused attempts to find explanations for them.

ENDNOTES

1. Our analysis of reading and writing operations was accomplished through an operational classification of the course-related events (both in-class and out-of-class) reported in our data. For each event, the operations used by modal student were described in terms of channel, direction and degree of texting.

   The concept of event and a description of the events we observed are presented in Chapter 9.

2. Overall, 72% of event types involved reading and/or writing 63% reading and 54% writing. For frequently occurring event types, 69% involved reading and/or writing (75% reading and 44% writing). Reading and writing then, seemed to be rather pervasive in the course-related events at Oakwood, although reading seemed to be more common than writing. The use of oral language also was pervasive in Oakwood classrooms. Overall, 54% of events involved speaking and/or listening (26% speaking and 54% listening). Of frequent events, 80% involved speaking and/or listening (31% speaking and 80% listening). As in the case of the written channel, it appears that productive oral language, that is speaking, is less common than the receptive oral language, listening.

3. Thirty-four percent of event types could be seen to involve the use of both oral and written channels. Forty percent used only written and 26% only the oral channel. When only frequently occurring events were considered, 19% involved only a written channel, 31% only an oral channel and 50% an oral and a written channel. Most of the events involving only a written channel occurred outside-of-class as individual study activities.

4. The only events involving reading done in isolation were the objective test and two out-of-class events - studying for a test and reading the text. Only two events - compositions and journals - involved writing in isolation and these, again, were generally out-of-class events. These two unimodal writing events were reported only in English composition courses themselves.

   Six events involved reading and writing together without oral language. All of these occurred, perhaps predictably, in out-of-class events or in the relatively rare instances where individuals worked independently in class. In developmental courses, the individual workbook event without tutor assistance involved the students in reading and writing, but this event was frequent in only one course. The reading-writing events in non-developmental courses were the reading report which occurred in six courses, but never as a frequent event, the research paper which was a major event in only one course, and the lab report which was, again, a major event in only one course. Two other reading-writing events were test events - the short answer test which occurred in two courses and the essay test which, again, occurred in only two courses.

5. Four different descriptions of events are possible, in terms of whether students and/or instructors are receptive or productive.

   a. The instructor engages in productive operations but the modal students use only, or predominantly, receptive operations. Lectures of various types, fall into this group. (17% of all event types but 31% of frequent events are of this sort.)

   b. The instructor is absent or receptive, while the students engage in receptive operations. Out-of-class events and events with individual participant structures such as study activities, audio-visuals and objective tests fall into this category. (14% of all event types but 19% of frequent event types are of this sort.)

c. The instructor and the modal students are both engaged in productive operations. Events with whole group structures involving drills and discussions fall into this category. (26% of all event types but 19% of frequent events are of this sort.)

d. The modal student is productive, while the instructor is only, or primarily, receptive. Included here would be events during which the instructor serves as a resource for, or observer of, students who work individually or in groups on tasks, as well as, perhaps, some out-of-class tasks for which the instructor may be considered either as a nonparticipant or a delayed received.* (43% of all event types, but only 31% of frequent events are of this type.)

6. Overall, 44% of event types involved texting. Of the frequently occurring events, 38% required texting. However, when texting operations occur, they are more likely to be receptive and oral. In particular, productive written texting (composing) is especially rare in our data.

7. In information-transfer courses, 7 of 9 (78%) of frequent event types involve a receptive student. Of the categories presented in Note 4, four events with a productive instructor and three in category 2 with an absent instructor. Of the categories with a productive student, none fell in category 3 where the instructor would also be productive. Of the two event types in category 4, both were independent activities done outside-of-class. This distribution captures the non-interactive nature of events in the information transfer courses.

   Of the six frequent events in developmental courses, most involved a productive student. Three fall in category 3 (productive student and instructor) and two in category 4 (productive student and absent or receptive instructor). However, in both these cases, tutor guidance was usually provided. Only one event type fell in category 1 (receptive student and productive instructor) and none in category 2 (receptive student and absent instructor). This distribution reflects the interactive nature of course-related events in developmental courses.

   The lab courses had frequent event types in every category. Of six events, one each fell in categories 2, 3 and 4, and three in category 1, although the lab event in category 4 was often more dominant in terms of class time. This distribution, across categories, may reflect the more complex roles of instructor and students.

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CHAPTER VII

MOTIVATIONAL ORIENTATIONS OF STUDENTS

An emerging trend in the study of literacy concerns individuals and their characteristics, styles, and objectives for using reading and writing in a particular context.

It is not enough to describe socially appropriate varieties of reading and writing or to describe how reading and writing fit into the ongoing activity and functioning of a particular context. This view leads one to see the individual person entering this setting as a passive reactant adapting behavior to the conventions of the context. While attention must certainly be paid to the social functions of reading and writing in a given setting, the specific reading and writing behavior an individual performs will depend, in part, on objectives for being in that setting. It is reasonable to expect, for example, that a student who enrolls in a course to get a grade will engage in a different variety of reading and writing than a student who is there with a thirst for knowledge for knowledge sake (Eison, 1981).

We viewed reading and writing as behaviors of active, goal-directed individuals who participate in specific contexts to further their own objectives. This notion is consistent with a widely cited definition of functional literacy:

> Possession of those literacy skills needed to successfully perform some reading task imposed by an external agent between the reader and a *goal the reader wishes to obtain*. (Sticht, 1975, p. 4)

Sticht's definition clearly calls attention to the goal-directed nature of functional literacy. In so doing, Sticht's definition is consistent with the trend to examine the personal or individual aspect of literacy. The individual reads (and writes) in the service of attaining some conscious goal. Similarly, Cole and Scribner (1977) concluded that individuals rarely engage in literacy operations as ends in and of themselves. More often, reading and writing are embedded in the context of superordinate activities linked to motives.

The notion of motivational orientations can be traced to Houle's (1961) pioneering and seminal work, *The Inquiring Mind*. Houle noticed a dearth of research on reasons continuing learners participate in adult education. He (1961) studied the lives of adults who were participating in various forms of continuing learning, but not pursuing a degree. Based upon his analysis of 22 unstructured interviews, Houle concluded that there were three learning orientations. By a learning orientation, Houle (1961, p. 15) meant: "the major conception they held about the purposes and values of continuing education."[1]

Houle (1961, pp. 15-16) identified and described three subgroups: The goal-oriented, the activity-oriented, and the learning-oriented. Houle was careful to point out that all of his respondents had goals, enjoyed participating, and liked to learn. While the differences were a matter of degree, he was able to classify most of them into one of his three subgroups. Houle's exploratory study spawned a line of inquiry related to determining the validity of his three-part conceptual scheme for classifying reasons for participation in adult education (Dickinson & Clark, 1975). Although Boshier (1977) has enumerated several flaws in the factor-analytic techniques used by "orientation" researchers, "motivational orientations" seems to be a useful construct. According to Boshier (1977), motivational orientations represent psychological states which are affected by the psycho-social context. He (1973) hypothesizes that motives are related to intra-self and self-other congruence in the teaching-learning environment. Boshier's research and theory suggest that motives may vary as a function of the types of adult education experience and the nature of the specific learning environment.

Recently, Eison (1981) reported on an initial effort to develop an instrument, the LOGO scale. It assesses the orientations of college students toward classroom learning. Generated from "numerous informal discussions with students and faculty" (Eison, 1981, p. 920), the LOGO scale is predicated on a dualistic view of student course motivation. Eison used the scale to differentiate grade-oriented from learning-oriented students. The latter is defined as a student who approach(es) the college experience as an opportunity to acquire knowledge and to obtain educational and personal enlightenment" (Eison, 1981, p. 919).

In applying the construct of motivational orientation to students at Oakwood Community College, we focused on the way the students view their involvement with specific courses. A motivational orientation was conceptualized as a state as opposed to a trait. The present use of the term then differs from the original view of learning orientations proposed by Houle insofar as he thought of them as relatively enduring predispositions. In particular, in this study, motivational orientations referred to the primary reason students were enrolled in a specific course.

Type of Motivational Orientation

Three major types of motivational orientations emerged from our analysis of 46 unstructured interviews.[2] As indicated in Table 7.1 we have labelled the three types of orientations: requirement meeters, knowledge seekers and specific information users. Each of these types of motivational orientations is described below in more detail.

Table 7.1

Percentage of Students by Type of Motivational Orientation (N = 46)[a]

Type of Motivational Orientation	Number	Percent
Requirement Meeters	22.5	49
Knowledge Seekers	12.0	26
Specific Information Users	9.0	20
Other	2.5	5

[a] Twenty-eight percent of the student responses were coded into two categories. In calculating frequencies, if a response was dual coded, it was assigned a value of .5 in each of the two categories.

Requirement Meeters

The goal of requirement meeters is to obtain a good grade, or if there are time or other constraints, at least credit hours. Students with this type of motivational orientation are primarily interested in meeting course requirements as efficiently as possible. That requirement meeters are concerned about getting credit and good grades is brought home by the following student quotes:

(1) "Just give me what I need to know. I'll go home and learn it. Then I'll come back and you can test me on it. Then I'll pass."

(2) Question: Is the grade in this class important to you?

"If you mean do I need it for transfer, yes, I do.

Her grading system sucks. You can't make up a grade scale ahead of time. The way she has it, everyone will get D's and F's. I've taken some statistics and I know it's not right how she does it. You have to know how your students do before you make up a grading scale. When I'm a teacher, I'm sure in hell not going to use a grading system like that....

It's only worth my time because I'm trying to get through my college education degree; that's the only reason I'm taking this class."

(3) Question: What do you think about the handouts?

"I think they're very helpful. The study guides are good. (Took out another one.) This one is not very good and we didn't have to have it for the test. Like one we had the last time. I don't see any point in her giving it to us and telling us it's not going to be on the test. If it's not going to be on the test, there's no point in covering it."

In addition to their pronounced concern about grades and credits, requirement meeters are also concerned about the amount of time coursework takes. The orientation of these students is depicted in the following quotes:

(1) Question: What about the reading reports?

"I haven't started it yet. It won't be hard to do but it is a waste of time. If it doesn't go for a test, it is a waste of time."

Question: Are you going to buy a textbook?

"I don't intend to buy it, no."

Question: Since you don't have a book, you don't read the assignment before or after class?

"No, the only time I study or go over notes is two or three days before the test. I wish I could change."

(2) Question: Do you consider reading an important activity for this class?

"I read for a test, that's mainly it. I never read the book. She said everything comes out of the lecture. It's only when I'm confused about what I'm doing--when I'm going over my notes the night before the test and there's no one else to talk to, I try to find it in the book."

Question: What is your opinion of the textbook?

"I don't look at it enough to have an opinion."

(3) Question: Do you do any work for this class outside of the class period?

"No, I don't usually do much outside of class. I do go back through my notes, like for a test.

(Pause). I do rewrite the formulas, the ones I know I'm going to use so they're easy to have. I put them on the front page so that I know where all the formulas are. But other than that I don't go back to the textbook and I'm not one that spends two hours a day on the homework."

Students' concern about efficiency was reflected in their view of time as a commodity. In discussing time, students often used phrases with economic connotations such as a) "spend time", b) "time is valuable", c) "time is precious", and d) "don't waste time". Requirement meeters choose study methods that allow them to use their "time bank account" judiciously:

(1) Samantha commented that one of the reasons she liked the instructor as an instructor was because he, unlike other instructors, was cognizant that his class "isn't the only thing you've got to do".

(2) "The greatest grades I can come out with are a couple A's, a couple B's, a couple C's just because there's not enough time to put the time in. I've seen people that might work weekends. Their grades are a lot better but they have a lot more time to put in to it. So, I do really well for the time, I think, I put into my classes...."

Question: When do you put in that fifteen minutes?

"Right when I get home."

Knowledge Seekers

In contrast to requirement meeters, knowledge seekers are genuinely interested in the subject matter. They like what they are learning and want to learn as much as they can. Students with a knowledge seeking orientation are captured in the following quotes:

(1) Question: What is the part of the class that you like the best?

"I like reading the text the best."

Question: Do you spend a lot of time reading for this class?

"Oh, yes. More for this class than any other class. The reading in this class is hard but I like it."

Question: What are your objectives for being in this class?

"I'm here because I enjoy psychology."

(2) Question: What are your personal objectives for being in this course?

"I hope to gain some knowledge about...I've always been interested in Psychology. I really have. How certain things function, why they function."

(3) "I want to learn the things about doing an experiment. What happens if someday I would have to do it. I don't know how. You know I keep my books. I always can go back to them eventually. In the summer sometimes I'll pick one up to...especially psychology books because I know I'll use them eventually again."

(4) Question: Do you like lab?

"Yes, it is very interesting. I like looking through the microscopes even if it does make my eyes ache.

It's neat when you see what she's been talking about. She'll describe something and then you'll see, and say, 'Eureka'. I found I get those feelings sometimes."

Knowledge seekers, then, are expressive learners. They are intrinsically motivated students truly interested in learning the subject matter.

Specific Information Users

Specific information users enroll in courses because they expect to be able to apply what they learn to some tangible outcome such as occupational advancement, job preparation, increasing the quality of their life, or doing better in other courses. The student who is a specific information user enters the class with a clear sense of what constitutes goal-attainment and how goal-attainment will be beneficial. Statements made by students classified as specific information users include:

(1) "...Now, I'm faced with having to go back to work to supplement our income, so I thought that I could at least brush up on my typing and maybe learn some other skills enough that I could hopefully go into an office and you know with enough knowledge that even..."

(2) Question: What basically happens in class?

"I think just getting familiar with the machines, because when I went to school, I learned on a manual and I've typed on electric machines, but they are all so different. And it's kind of nice to feel a little more confident and when you work in an office to at least have an idea of how to run the machines. It gives you an idea."

Question: You've been through three sections? This is your third section?

"Yes, and some of the jobs I've been applying for they need someone who knows these machines, so it is helpful."

(3) "Sure, it took time but there again, it was useful information. I found out I don't eat well-balanced meals and I don't get enough calories."

Question: Is there anything else you would like to say?

"No, not really. I can't think of anything. All I know is I've sure learned a lot of wrong things all my life if what she's really telling us is true."

As indicated in these quotes, the specific information user is an instrumental learner. Coursework is viewed as a means to well-specified ends.

Ninety-five percent of the responses were classified into one of these categories. However, our sample did not include students enrolled in below 100 level courses. To extend the variety of students included in our analysis, we drew upon the interview summaries of one of our participant observers. He was a paid counselor who interacted with students enrolled in an English as a Second Language (ESL) program. Inspection of the fieldnotes of this participant observer, who was Hispanic, led us to consider most ESL students as nonspecific information users.

Nonspecific Information Users

Nonspecific information users are also motivated to take classes because of their perceived link to job procurement. By acquiring or improving their basic skills, the nonspecific information user hopes to improve his/her lot in life. However, in contrast to the specific information user, the nonspecific information user does not know when they have achieved their educational goals nor how educational goal attainment will directly lead to a better job. In a counseling session conducted by a particular observer in which ESL students were asked about their goals, typical answers were:

> CHM is at Oakwood to learn English better to get a job.
>
> SQC is at Oakwood to learn to speak English to get a better job.
>
> CLM is at Oakwood to learn to read and write English to get a better job.

This participant observer remarked: "As I interviewed the students, I asked the question, 'Do you think you will pass this class?' and 'Are you ready to go to a different English class?' Most of the students responded, 'I don't know. HR (the instructor) hasn't told us yet.' "

In examining the unstructured interviews, it was clear that students occasionally expressed a motivational orientation that did not fit into any of our types. This is not surprising given the diversity of the clientele at Oakwood. For example, a small percentage of students appeared to be exploring:

> Question: Why don't you want to be a dental assistant? What made you change your mind?
>
> "Because I was using it as a copout--something to be when I got older, you know. I really don't feel like cleaning false teeth, you know. I might want to be a cashier. They make good money, but I'd have to be on my feet 8 hours. I don't know what I want to be. It's really tough to decide what you want to be."

It would also create a false impression to suggest that students always are guided by one motivational orientation.[4] In fact, for 28% of the interviews the students' responses were coded into two categories. A "hybrid" response involving both knowledge seeking and specific information using orientations was:

> "I'm here because I enjoy psychology. Also, psychology can help me to deal with people."

This student indicates that his reason for taking this class is twofold: he likes the subject matter and he can apply the information obtained to help him successfully interact with others.

Also, students are not locked into a particular motivational orientation for the duration of a course. For example, in a nutrition course, a student entered the class as a requirement meeter:

> "I needed to get a good grade for my GPA and it will transfer..."

But commenting on the class once she had been in it awhile she said:

> "The talking part of the class brings out things you can use in daily life."

Thus, this student had become at least, in part, a specific information user.

The motivational orientations can be compared along several dimensions. One dimension is related to the outcomes which students seek in particular courses.[3] For example, specific information users evaluate their success in the class in terms of acquired knowledge and skills which can subsequently be applied to life, school or work-related tasks. Presumably, by improving their performance in one or more of these areas, they will enhance their quality of life. Knowledge seekers, in contrast, evaluate their success in the class in terms of the gratification they have felt from the learning process. Requirement meeters rely chiefly on the credits and grades they achieve in evaluating their success in the class. Such individuals are typically either actively pursuing or contemplating actively pursuing a degree.

It is also possible to relate motivational orientations to Havighurst's (1976) notions concerning the basic aspects of education. Instrumental education is education for a goal that lies outside and beyond the act of education. In this form, education is an instrument for changing the learners' situation. In contrast, expressive education is education for a goal that lies within the act of learning or is so closely related to it that the act of learning appears to be the goal. If Havighurst's concepts are superimposed over the course motivational orientations delineated in the present study, then it appears as if students adopting a knowledge seeker orientation are primarily concerned with the expressive aspect of education. On the other hand, students adopting specific and nonspecific information user and requirement meeter orientations seem to be principally emphasizing the instrumental aspect of education.

Havighurst goes on to point out that instrumental education is thus a kind of investment of time and energy in the expectation of future gain, while expressive education is a kind of consumption of time and energy for present gain. This intriguing notion suggests a relationship between type of course motivational orientation and time. Because knowledge seekers enjoy the process of learning, they experience immediate gratification. For the specific information users, knowledge and skills must first be learned and then applied. But, the lag between learning in the classroom and application in the real world may be relatively short (Knowles, 1978). Thus, specific information users may only experience a short-term delay in application.

For the nonspecific information users there is a long delay between what is learned and its application. Students may take several ESL courses without a clear sense of whether they are making progress. Their perceptions of success in school largely depends on the instructor's feedback. Nonspecific information users defined success in terms of being promoted by the instructor. The connection between gains in basic skills and acquiring a better job seems tenuous at best. It would appear that the nonspecific information user experiences a long-term delay in gratification. The requirement meeters tend to be task-oriented in terms of doing just enough to pass courses they are required to take or to obtain a particular grade. Because requirement meeters often don't use the material (other than to pass tests), they are likely to apply it only after they eventually perceive its relevance to some other domain of their life. Thus, there is a long lag between acquisition and application. Consequently, requirement meeters also experience a long-term delay in application. The characteristics associated with each of the different types of motivational orientations are summarized in Table 7.2.

The Requirement Meeter as a Modal Student

Our results suggest that requirement meeters may be the modal type of student at community colleges. In light of this possibility, it is interesting to explore the norms being established by students with this type of motivational orientation.

Requirement meeters brand as odd, students in the class who express an interest in learning more than the "minimum". Requirement meeters believe the students who participate and invest a lot of time in a course

Table 7.2

Comparison of Motivational Orientations Along Three Dimensions

	Motivational Orientation			
Dimension	Requirement Meeter	Specific Information User	Nonspecific Information User	Knowledge Seeker
Major criterion of Success	Credit/grade	Practical Knowledge/skill	Positive evaluation	Self-gratification
Aspect of education emphasized	Instrumental	Instrumental	Instrumental	Expressive
Time Orientation regarding application of acquired skills/knowledge	Long term delay in application	Short term delay in application	Long term delay in application	Application per se irrelevant

are wasting time. They also "put down" students who often ask questions which they perceive to be "off the task", that is, that are unrelated to exams:

> "But most of the questions the students ask aren't that important. Sometimes they're not even related to the book."
>
> Question: Yeah, I've noticed that. Do you feel like those discussions are worthwhile?
>
> "Not really. They won't help you pass the class."

Both students and instructors seem to value individuals by how they spend their time. Time was viewed by students and teachers alike as being more important than innate ability in terms of grade attainment. The "conspicuous spending" of time is evident in student interviews. As one of our participant observers reported:

> "They liked to talk of the many demands on their time for family, job, etc. Students were bragging in a way. They were saying, I can pass this course and do X, Y, and Z, too."

In a sense, the requirement meeter derives status by spending as little time as possible on school-related matters. For example, Samantha explained why she had done some problems, which apparently few others in the class had by saying: "It looked as though I was the only one who sort of knew what was going on which probably wasn't true. It was just that I happened to have the time to work the problems." Similarly, Martin thought himself something of an oddity and virtually apologized for having the time to "read everything": "Yeah, well I read everything. I'm probably one of the few students (who do). Well, I don't work so I lead a pretty boring life."

It is also interesting to examine the way requirement meeters are perceived by students with other motivational orientations:

(1) "Lots of people are here to get through class and to get through (Oakwood)...Lots aren't here to learn. They just need the class."

(2) "Because from the classes I've observed in the past from this class so far people have not applied themselves totally to the class...They are not behaving in a manner worthy of college students."

> Question: What's a manner worthy of college students?
>
> "Doing the book stuff and studies. Asking questions of the teacher, if I don't understand the information. Doing the lab assignments the best I can...
>
> Basically you have two groups. Some who are here because they have to be here and some who are here because they want to be here. At this point, I could almost (classify them) name by name."

Covelli (1979, p. 36) compares today's community college students to "walkers" who "in making paths....find the most economical route to their destination". He argues that "students will choose the best routes if their educational destinations are clear and if there are ways to detect the most efficient and effective means of learning." Covelli is making a case for a curriculum based on mastery learning rather than a "common time-and-approach method" (p. 34). The data presented here suggest that many students seek an "economical route" not to learning, but to course completion.

Relation Between Motivational Orientation and Literacy

Eison (1981) has demonstrated that college students differ with regard to their attitudes toward grades. On one end of the continuum are grade oriented students--whom we have called requirement meeters. At the other end of the continuum are learner oriented students--whom we have called knowledge seekers. While we have identified other types, specific and nonspecific information users, the greatest contrast in terms of literacy, may very well be between the requirement meeter and the knowledge seeker. For comparative purposes, we offer vignettes of a requirement meeter and a knowledge seeker.

In selecting student vignettes for this chapter, and an instructor vignette for the next chapter, two criteria were used. First, we wanted to choose students and an instructor from the same class so that we could describe how students and instructors accomplish their work. Second, we wanted to describe the modal type of instructor, i.e., a knowledge broker and the modal type of student, a requirement meeter, as well as a contrast case, i.e., a knowledge seeker. It is important to keep in mind that our findings are based on the whole data set described in the Methodological Appendix of the Instructional Report. The vignettes are presented for illustrative purposes, to highlight our account of how literacy is related to the motivational orientations of students and instructors.

We selected a class from the fall 1980 semester because our unstructured interviews were done then. The unstructured interviews yielded the data used to classify the motivational orientations of students. Examination of the eight classes we observed revealed that the Microbiology course fit our criteria. The instructor was an information broker. She had a very definite view of the purpose of instruction: "the emphasis is on information and content of the subject." And, the student interviews yielded both requirement meeters and knowledge seekers. Particular students were then selected based on the richness of the interview data.

Nancy -- The Requirement Meeter: Nancy is in her late 30's and had attended college right after high school graduation. She dropped out after 2-1/2 years to go to work full-time. Since then she has married and has had two children. She decided she wanted to be a nurse and has been attending community college for four years in order to get her practical nursing certificate. She speaks of having many outside demands on her time and how she has to carefully allot time for this class. She does not want extraneous information and wants credit for work/time that she expends on class. Nancy is taking three classes. She has ranked the classes in importance to her career goal and places them in this order: Nursing (which also carries a double credit), Microbiology, and Psychology. She allots time to the classes in order of importance to her. She is under additional pressure in that she has to maintain at least a C average in order to stay in the Nursing program. However, Nancy has gotten high grades in previous courses and wanted to get an A in Microbiology. She did not do so well on the first test because "I had to do that nursing and I didn't get time" (to study). The academic load is impacting on her marriage and home-life. "I realize a lot of pressure was put on me and I put pressure on the family." She went on to say she had a long talk with her husband to help relieve the situation. "My husband helps a lot - more than most husbands. Come Saturday, we clean the house together. He looks on this as another job - but it's more than a job because there's a lot of studying."

Nancy bought the textbook but said, "I haven't read the book. Do you know that I haven't even opened the book? Not the way she lectures; I don't feel I have to."

Also, Nancy did not read the lab manual. Instead she relied on the instructor's demonstrations and slides: "I like it because then I don't have to read the lab manual. It's faster and more to the point if she tells you what to do than if you sit down and read through this book on it." Nancy did read and use the handouts the instructor said were important. Nancy felt that note taking was essential.

Nancy said she didn't want class discussions. "A lot of times I find that people get off on something else and waste more time than it's worth. They discuss things they want to hear, but it's not necessarily pertinent to the rest of the class or the subject."

Nancy was very upset by having to write reports on technical journals: "I think it's a waste of time. I mean, if we were going to get some kind of grade on them, you don't mind spending the time if it's going to be to your benefit; someday you may want to read these things. But my time is limited. And I'm not going to get a grade. I would rather not waste my time coming to the library to look up some article."

Nancy began to study for tests the weekend before. The only time she has to study is from 4:00 in the morning until it is time to wake her husband and children. Because Nancy wanted to do well and because Nursing must come first, she tried to rearrange a test date with the instructor to avoid two in the same week. She was very upset that the instructor did not just say no, but went on to lecture her on making choices in her life.

Nancy did not study with anyone else because "we get on another subject, and we just waste time. I did that a couple of times - mostly with a girl that needed help. It wasn't a waste of time, but I used more time than I would have (alone)." Nancy did not like lab because she had a partner who wanted to do it all and kept getting it wrong. Nancy said she just wanted to get the experiment done and get out of there.

The relevant characteristics of Nancy are summarized in Table 7.3. She found having time to spend studying to be important because she has numerous non-school related demands (i.e., family). Because time is scarce, handouts and notes taken in class are valuable resources. The textbook and lab manual are not used since the "required" information is covered in class. Non-graded assignments and class discussions are unimportant because they do not assist Nancy in obtaining the grade she desires. In contrast, consider the knowledge seeking orientation of David.

Table 7.3

Characteristics of Nancy the Requirement Meeter

Characteristic	Rating
Finding Time to Spend Studying	Important
Textbook and Lab Manual	Unimportant
Note Taking	Important
Handouts	Important
Class Discussions	Unimportant
Non-graded Assignments	Unimportant

David -- A Knowledge Seeker: David is about 20 years old. He entered college right out of high school. He has not added any responsibilities other than college, to his demands on time. However, he has already spent five semesters in school. He has determined he wants to be a medical doctor and is aiming his efforts at achieving that goal. His family provides emotional and financial support. David approaches his class work as very important for helping him later in medical school. Daily, he spends time in the Library working on class assignments as well as learning the scientific terms in Spanish. (He may end up attending medical school in Mexico if there is no opening for him in the United States.)

Although the instructor told the class that she will test them only on what has been covered in class lectures, David chose to read the textbook anyway. He said her lecture materials was easy but "he likes to look at the book more."

David felt the handouts were important and he used them extensively. Note taking was also seen as an essential activity. David wrote down the outline and added the extra material "because she will ask" for it on tests. He also said, "I just put things down for my own, you know. Because later on in my own field, it'll come back." He also related the class information to his chosen field on his own.

David felt that questions during class time were important. He was frustrated by the instructor's unwillingness to entertain questions. Although he was not "thrilled with" the technical journal assignment, David did not get upset. He just accepted the assignment.

David incorporated studying into a daily schedule. He went to the city library and studied for a few hours almost every day. He read the text and tried to stay ahead of the lecture schedule. He liked to learn the material because he felt it would be important in medical school. Besides the relevancy of the subject, he liked to learn it because he was interested.

Since David studied the text, he was unhappy that the instructor did not discuss material in the text. David's reaction to lab was that "we've got to know that stuff" and he was glad to be learning it. David got very upset when the instructor said, "someone's been reading the text" in response to one of his questions. He was hurt because he felt she was putting him down as a show-off, but he said, "I sincerely wanted to know."

The relevant characteristics of David are summarized on Table 7.4. He found time to spend studying to be unimportant insofar as he had plenty of time to study each day. Handouts and notes taken were seen as important learning resources. The textbook and lab manual were important additional sources of information. Non-graded assignments were sometimes seen as important, depending on what they entailed. Class discussion was seen as an important opportunity to gain additional insight into the material.

Table 7.4

Characteristics of David the Knowledge Seeker

Characteristic	Rating
Finding Time to Spend Studying	Unimportant
Textbook and Lab Manual	Important
Note Taking	Important
Handouts	Important
Class Discussions	Important
Non-graded Assignments	Important Some of the Time

Both Nancy and David found note taking and handouts to be important. However, David, the knowledge seeker, in contrast to Nancy, the requirement meeter, found the textbook, lab manual, and class discussion to be important and the non-graded assignments to be important some of the time. Nancy, as compared to David, found having time to spend studying important.

We have described the motivational orientations of students at Oakwood. And, we have linked student motivational orientations to their use of reading and writing. However, what happens in the classroom is jointly determined, in part, by teachers and learners. In the next chapter, we focus on instructors. In particular, we emphasize the types (and contents) of course objectives possessed by instructors and their relationship to the literacy observed.

ENDNOTES

1. Learning orientations are usually referred to by adult education practitioners and researchers as motivational orientations. As Boshier (1971) noted, Houle was concerned with reasons for participation and not approaches or styles of learning. Thus, the term learning orientation is somewhat misleading. For the remainder of this paper, we follow current usage and employ the term motivational orientation.

2. The unstructured interviewing process was developed by Nancy Siefer, Elizabeth Fisk, and Liz Warren. A description of how these data were collected, coded, and analyzed is provided in the Methodological Appendix of the Instructional Component. We did a total of 55 unstructured interviews. However, for nine students, the interviews did not contain sufficient data to permit classification.

3. To the extent that students have more than one primary reason for taking a course, multiple criteria would come into play. We describe the pure types here for purposes of explication.

4. This chapter was based, in part, on in-house papers written by Lou Attinasi and Virginia Stahl, project-participant observers.

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CHAPTER VIII

COURSE OBJECTIVES OF INSTRUCTORS

An emerging trend in the study of literacy is contextual analysis. Reading and writing need to be seen within the overall and ongoing activity of a specific setting so that their significance can really be understood (Scribner & Jacob, Note 1). In so doing, it is possible to see a single variety of reading and writing as an alternative to some other activities and as complements to others, that is, to see its paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships. Observing the co-occurrence of various aspects of context with varieties of reading and writing leads to the formulation of hypotheses about literacy. Certain varieties of reading may be related to certain types of settings or certain roles within those settings.

In analyzing job literacy in military settings, Sticht (1975) viewed functional literacy tasks as being imposed by an external agent. In the context of the classroom, the external agent who figures centrally in the creation of literacy demands is the instructor. While we disagree with Sticht that demands are unilaterally imposed, we acknowledge that the classroom is a focused situation in which the teacher is expected to determine what will be learned and how it will be taught and assessed.

The content of the objectives a teacher is assumed to have consequences for literacy. The extent to which instructors in the content areas have objectives directly related to reading and writing influences students' conception of literacy and the opportunity for skill enhancement. In addition, the type of objective (cognitive, affective, or psychomotor) as well as the level may influence how students approach literacy tasks. Sticht (1978) has shown that the type of reading task prevalent for job trainees was not the most prevalent type of reading task for job incumbents. His research is consistent with the trend to examine literacy in context insofar as he demonstrated the impact of context on the nature of literacy behavior displayed by Navy personnel. In a similar vein, it was anticipated for example, that students in courses emphasizing psychomotor objectives (reading to learn to do) will engage in a different type of literacy behavior than students in courses emphasizing low level cognitive objectives (reading to learn the facts).

The data on course objectives were derived from a design procedure referred to in the field of education as task analysis. Specifically, teachers were "walked through" a task analytic process beginning with their course objectives.[1] The analytical stance from which task analysis was derived is succinctly stated by Gagne (1962):

> 1. Any human task may be analyzed into a set of component tasks which are quite distinct from each other in terms of the experimental operations needed to produce them.
>
> 2. These task components are mediators of the final task performance; that is, their presence insures positive transfer to a final performance, and their absence reduces such transfer to near zero.
>
> 3. The basic principles of training design consist of: (a) identifying the component task of a final performance; (b) insuring that each of these component tasks is fully achieved; and (c) arranging the total learning situation in a sequence which will insure optimal mediational effects from one component to another. (p. 88)

Although task analysis has typically been employed to assist instructors in designing a course or unit of instruction (Joyce & Weil, 1972), in the present study, it was modified toward the end of determining instructor objectives and activities and the skills required of students. This modification of task analysis has been used previously to conduct research in both academic and occupational settings (Hall & Carlton, 1972; Martin & Mueller Note 2; Skellings, 1977).

Our analysis of course objectives was based upon Bloom's three-part taxonomy of educational objectives (Bloom et al, 1956). The classification scheme consists of three categories including the cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains. The cognitive domain includes: "Those objectives which deal with the recall or recognition of knowledge and the development of intellectual abilities and skills." The affective domain includes: "Objectives which describe changes in interest, attitudes, and values, and the development of appreciations and adequate adjustment." The psychomotor domain includes objectives concerned with manipulative skills, motor skills, and acts requiring neuromuscular coordination ranging from reflex movements to skills movements and non-discursive communication (Krathwohl et al, 1964; Harrow, 1972).

When we speak about course objectives, we are referring to student behaviors which represent the intended outcomes of the educational process; that is, "the ways in which individuals are to act, think or feel as the result of participating in some unit of instruction" (Bloom et al, 1956, p. 12). It should be noted that before we could classify course objectives, we had to make sure that instructors agreed with their wording and that the statements themselves were worded in terms of intended student behavior.

Following classification of each objective into one of the three domains, objectives were further catalogued as to their level. Within the cognitive domain, there were six levels including knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation (Bloom et al, 1956). The affective domain consisted of five classes as follows: receiving (attending), responding, valuing, organization and characterization by a value or value complex (Krathwohl et al, 1964). Finally, the psychomotor domain contains six classes involving reflex movements, basic-fundamental movements, perceptual abilities, physical abilities, skilled movements, and non-discursive communication (Harrow, 1972). Although sub-levels exist within levels of each domain, no attempt was made to classify objectives into sub-levels. This decision was based on the difficulty of reliably classifying objectives into particular sub-levels and on our purpose for collecting this data. We were interested in obtaining a general sense of the kinds of objectives instructors had. In Table 8.1, the levels within each domain are presented.

After all objectives had been classified, the number of objectives was tallied, by domain. Because over 75% of the objectives fell in the cognitive domain, tallying by levels was done only for cognitive objectives.

Types of Instructor Course Objectives[4]

Across all classes, the percentage of objectives in each domain is presented in Table 8.2. Taken as a whole, the instructors' course objectives were primarily in the cognitive domain (79%). In contrast, only 14% and 7% of the objectives were in the affective and psychomotor domains, respectively. This finding is fairly typical insofar as American educators at all levels have tended to emphasize, if not exclusively focus on, the cognitive domain in curriculum (Bloom et al, 1956).

Given the predominance of cognitive course objectives, we also analyzed them by level. According to Bloom, the six major levels of the cognitive domain are hierarchically ordered. Behaviors at each level are viewed as prerequisites for more complex behaviors associated with higher levels. The percentage of cognitive objectives at each level are presented in Table 8.3.

Table 8.1

Levels and Domains of Taxonomies

		Domain	
Level	Cognitive	Affective	Psychomotor
1	Knowledge	Receiving (Attending)	Reflex Movements
2	Comprehension	Responding	Basic-Fundamental Movements
3	Application	Valuing	Perceptual Abilities
4	Analysis	Organization	Physical Abilities
5	Synthesis	Characterization by a Value or Value Complex	Skilled Movements
6	Evaluation		Non-Discussive Communication

Table 8.2

Percentage of Objectives by Domain (n=24)

	Cognitive	Affective	Psychomotor
M	78.71	14.21	7.04
SD	25.37	21.16	18.44
M-M	14-100	0-75	0-86

Table 8.3

Percentage of Cognitive Objectives by Level (n=24)

	Level					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
M	43.88	14.42	15.96	3.08	0.92	0.87
SD	27.57	12.07	16.70	4.86	4.28	2.51
M-M	0-98	0-47	0-51	0-18	0-21	0-11

Over all courses, over 40% of all objectives fall into the knowledge level, about 30% fall into the comprehension and application levels, and less than 5% represent objectives in the analysis, synthesis, and evaluation levels. Because the modal type of course objective is a knowledge objective, we present a detailed description of the objectives found at this level.

Knowledge refers to giving "evidence that one remembers, either by recalling or recognizing, some idea or phenomenon with which he has had experience in the educational process." (Bloom et al, 1956, p. 28) In other words, knowledge is little more than rote recall or recognition of an idea or phenomenon. This emphasis on rote remembering as an end in itself differentiates knowledge from other levels in the cognitive domain. In 'higher' levels, knowledge is of little value unless one can use it in new situations or in a different form.

A wide array of cognitive objectives constitute the knowledge level. Generally, knowledge objectives fall along a continuum ranging from the specific and relatively concrete types of behaviors to the more complex and abstract ones. However, common to all objectives in the knowledge category is that remembering is the major psychological process implicated. To provide a feel for the types of knowledge objectives which are pervasive at Oakwood, several examples of course objectives are provided below:

(1) Recognize the following: Huguenots, Iroquois, New France, Jesuit missionary, King William's War, Queen Anne's War...
(2) Know the number of grams of fat in a fat exchange.
(3) Recognize basic statistical notations used in the text.
(4) Know the order of basic mathematical operations.
(5) Recognize that raw frontier conditions caused distinctly American traits to develop, particularly as regards democracy.
(6) Recognize the most important desirable properties of money.

Inspection of these objectives reveals that knowledge of objectives involve the recall of "isolable bits of information". The rationale behind having knowledge objectives is that each field or discipline has its own jargon which must be mastered to make the material comprehensible. Also, within each field or discipline certain "facts" are considered as "basic". These "basic facts" are used as building blocks by the students and as such, should be part of their working memory. The instructor must make difficult decisions regarding which terms (and symbols) are "essential" for students to master. The difficulty of the decision is compounded by the diversity of the reasons students are enrolled in the course.

The second greatest percentage of cognitive objectives are (30%) at levels two and three. Comprehension refers to "objectives, behaviors, or responses which represent an understanding of the literal message contained in a communication" (Bloom et al, 1956, p. 82). While the learner may change the communication in his/her mind, comprehension does not entail complete understanding or grasping of a message. It may be viewed as entailing shallow as opposed to deep processing (Craik & Lockhart, 1972). Application objectives can be distinguished from comprehension objectives in that the former require thinking that involves abstractions generated from rules. The application type of objective requires the learner to use an abstraction correctly when no mode of solution is specified. Several examples of comprehension and application objectives are provided below:

Comprehension

(1) Understand the concept "significant digits".
(2) Be able to interpret literary meanings.
(3) Explain why a decrease in the expected yield and/or an increase in the risk of holding bonds would cause an increase in the demand for money.
(4) Explain the history of psychology through the major schools of psychology.

Application

(1) Be able to calculate the number of calories given a quantity of fat.
(2) Calculate standard scores with textbook available.
(3) Be familiar with and locate appropriate research materials in the library.

Table 8.4

Percentage of Objectives by Type of Domain for Developmental and Nondevelopmental Classes (n=24)

Cognitive			Affective			Psychomotor			
M	SD	M-M	M	SD	M-M	M	SD	M-M	Type of Class
67.45	21.91	25-98	27.91	24.69	0-75	4.54	5.46	0-13	Developmental
88.23	24.89	14-100	2.61	5.74	0-21	9.15	24.82	0-86	Non-Developmental

(4) Solve for the macro-economic equilibrium in the simple Keynesian model given the consumption function and the level of business investment spending.

Examination of the comprehension objectives reveals that they involve demonstrating understanding of concepts and how they are interrelated in a concrete situation. Placing additional demands on the learner, some comprehension objectives require learners to discern the implication of trends when they are given and when the communication specifies how they are to be applied. In contrast to comprehension, application involves structuring of the problem situation and the utilization of an appropriate abstraction.

The rationale for having objectives at higher levels than knowledge is straightforward. Program statements accompanying curricula often make claims about the utility of what will be learned for enhancing the competence of the learner. It is the application of knowledge which is often considered by teachers and students alike to be the litmus test of the instructional process. When learners can apply the knowledge in other contexts, (i.e. positive transfer), then it is often deemed to be "relevant" by students. This type of sentiment is reflected in a quote from a student: "That's nice, but what is it good for?"

We have observed that the majority of the course objectives are in the cognitive domain and that, within this domain, they are primarily at the knowledge level and secondarily, at the comprehension and application levels. By sorting classes into different categories, we can illustrate the considerable variability which exists with regard to types of objectives.

Class Differences in Types of Objectives

Our first contrast is between developmental and nondevelopmental classes. As can be seen in Table 8.4, nondevelopmental classes had a much higher mean percentage of cognitive objectives (M = 88%) than developmental classes (M = 67%). Interestingly, comparison by level within the cognitive domain reveals that the bulk of the difference is due solely to the percentage of knowledge objectives. As can be seen in Table 8.5 on the average, 54% of the nondevelopmental course objectives are at the knowledge level while only 31% of the developmental course objectives are at the knowledge level.

Table 8.5

Percentage of Cognitive Objectives by Level
for Developmental and Nondevelopmental Classes
(n=24)

	Type of Class					
	Developmental			Nondevelopmental		
Level	M	SD	M-M	M	SD	M-M
1	30.64	15.34	0-50	54.15	31.39	0-98
2	17.54	13.17	0-47	11.77	10.87	2-23
3	17.90	15.58	0-41	14.30	18.58	0-51
4	.64	1.12	0-3	5.15	6.00	0-18
5	.00	0.00	0-0	1.69	5.81	0-21
6	.54	1.81	0-6	1.15	3.03	0-11

Table 8.6

Percentage of Objectives by Domain for Lab and Non-Lab Classes in the Occupational and Transfer Areas (n=13)

Cognitive			Affective			Psychomotor			
M	SD	M-M	M	SD	M-M	M	SD	M-M	Type of Class
68.50	40.02	14-100	1.75	2.06	0-4	29.75	40.60	0-86	Lab[a]
97.00	6.87	79-100	3.00	6.87	0-21	0.00	0.00	0-0	Non-Lab

[a] Lab classes were Office Machines, General Microbiology, Automotive Carburetion, and Experimental Psychology.

If developmental classes have proportionately fewer course objectives in the cognitive domain, then what do they have proportionately more of? The answer is affective objectives. Objectives in the affective domain comprise, on the average, 38% of the objectives in developmental classes but only 3% of the objectives in the nondevelopmental classes. Neither developmental (M = 4%) nor nondevelopmental classes (M = 9%) have, as groups, large percentages of psychomotor objectives.

Our second contrast is between lab versus non-lab classes in the transfer and occupational areas. As can be seen in Table 8.6 non-lab classes (M = 97%) had proportionately more cognitive objectives than lab classes (M = 68%). Interestingly, comparison by level within the cognitive domain reveals that the bulk of the difference is due to the percentage of knowledge objectives. As can be seen in Table 8.7, the mean percentage of non-lab course objectives at the knowledge level is 61% while for lab classes, the mean percentage of course objectives at the knowledge level is only 38%. However, lab classes have a greater mean percentage of psychomotor course objectives (30%) than non-lab classes (0%). Neither lab classes (M = 1.75) nor non-lab classes (M = 3.00) have, as a group, large percentages of affective objectives.

Table 8.7

Percentage of Cognitive Objectives by Level
for Lab and Non-Lab Classes
in the Occupational and Transfer Areas
(n=13)

Level	Type of Class					
	Lab			Non-Lab		
	M	SD	M-M	M	SD	M-M
1	38.5	25.98	0-57	61.11	32.38	11-98
2	14.5	9.47	7-28	10.55	11.75	1-33
3	12.5	15.02	0-34	15.11	20.75	0-51
4	2.5	3.70	0-8	6.33	6.61	0-18
5	0.25	.50	0-1	2.44	5.97	0-21
6	.50	1.00	0-2	1.44	3.61	0-11

The relatively high percentage of psychomotor objectives in the nondevelopmental lab classes is due to two classes -- Office Machines and Automotive Carburetion. Office Machines (86%) and Automotive Carburetion (33%) have relatively high percentages of psychomotor objectives while Experimental Psychology and General Microbiology have no psychomotor objectives.

To summarize the class differences, relative to nondevelopmental classes, developmental classes had a larger percentage of affective objectives. Compared to developmental classes and occupational and transfer classes with labs, occupational and transfer classes without labs, had a larger percentage of cognitive objectives at the knowledge level. Finally, relative to developmental classes and occupational and transfer classes without labs, occupational and transfer classes with labs had a larger percentage of psychomotor objectives.

We also examined the relation between percentage of objectives in each domain and instructor's perceptions of how frequently they engaged in various instructional activities. Instructors who emphasized cognitive objectives were more likely to use lecture (r = .60), an instructional activity which enabled them to dispense knowledge.

Instructors who emphasized affective objectives were more likely to use discussion (r = .43), an instructional activity which enabled them to socialize learners into the role of college student. Instructors who emphasized psychomotor objectives were more likely to use demonstration and practice (r = .44), an instructional activity which enabled them to guide students.

The teaching orientation of the knowledge broker is illustrated by the comments of a history instructor:

> (I want)...the students to gain a basic understanding of history and that they will have the basic information...My primary method of instruction is lecture. I give handouts on outstanding topics, things that are particularly important.

The teaching orientation of the guide was reflected in the comments of a business statistics teacher:

> ...Application of all problems in class using calculating equipment in real world context...Be able to interpret the results from a vast array of problems, from a variety of business fields...I begin with an overview and then I structure the problem. Then we do specific problems on the board. Then I assign them similar problems to do independently on their own. I use the lecture/demonstration method to designate orally what is important for them to know how to do.

The third view of teaching, which we have chosen to call the socializer, was exemplified by a language skills instructor. The participant observer in this class described the instructor's objectives as follows:

> English 015 had many objectives all geared toward readying students for a higher level course. (The instructor felt that students in 015 needed special training to ready them for college and specifically that "They must be taught to notice".) She further felt a strong obligation to provide social instruction td the students, to build character.

One of the major activities of the class was a movie discussion:

> A movie event was always composed of a pre-movie discussion, the movie itself, and a post-movie discussion sometimes followed by essay questions to answer. The instructor from the other class usually led the pre-movie discussion, but the students were usually not willing to talk before the movie. Movies were designed to meet the objective of building their character and teaching tolerance.
>
> The classes were broken down into 8-10 smaller groups to discuss nuclear power. Since the instructors could not monitor all the discussions, the students talked about whatever they wanted. When it came time to discuss the issue as a whole class, the students did not express clear opinions and the instructors were irritated. This resulted in a lecture on civil responsibilities by both instructors.

The participant observer commented in her report:

> The instructor took her role very seriously, especially since she was dealing with developmental students. She adamantly disagrees with those who say they are not ready for college. They are ready for college. They simply need special training.

Obviously, one can observe elements of different orientations being deployed by the same instructor. And, other orientations are possible. For example, in an "ideal" class, an economics instructor envisioned a highly stimulating class which would encompass many higher level cognitive objectives. He put the matter thusly:

> ...This would include debating the merits of alternative theories. The group of students would be able to grasp current theories.

Although his current orientation still includes elements of the Socratic method, this particular instructor is inclined to draw more implications for the students.

Why So Many Knowledge Objectives?

One reason why knowledge objectives represent the modal type of objective at Oakwood relates to its mission. For the faculty, the transfer function is generally viewed as the primary function of Oakwood. As a two-year college, Oakwood has an obligation to teach the basic knowledge of the disciplines. Very concerned with how their transfer students fare at four-year institutions, the content of many transfer courses are shaped greatly by the corresponding programs at the local state university. By teaching the same content, Oakwood transfers will be on an equal footing with juniors who have completed their first two years at the university.

The emphasis on "basic facts" in transfer courses may also reflect the disciplinary orientation of instructors. Instructors are geared to teach their disciplines. By emphasizing knowledge objectives, instructors are trying to orient students to their discipline. Presumably, as the learners acquired more information, they enhance their sensitivity to and liking for the domain of inquiry. Essentially, by exposing students to the language, the methodology and the basic findings of the discipline, they come to be acquainted with the world views created by the discipline (Kuhn, 1970).

A related factor contributing to the prevalence of knowledge objectives is that they are basic to many other purposes of education. For example, knowledge is viewed as a prerequisite to higher level cognitive objectives. According to Bloom, knowledge is either the raw material for problem-solving or the criterion for assessing the adequacy of problem-solving. In other words, knowledge is either used as input for developing advances in thinking about the field or new knowledge is the output anticipated for taking novel approaches to studying problems in the field. When knowledge objectives are justified on the basis of their relation to other objectives, knowledge objectives do not represent terminal objectives. Rather, they are being viewed as enabling objectives which are necessary intermediate steps in the attainment of some final objectives. Much of what is taught at Oakwood is based upon this premise. The knowledge is not justified as an end in and of itself, but rather because of its alleged linkage to "other" objectives.

Another factor which may be contributing to the abundance of knowledge objectives is the ease with which they can be taught and evaluated. Bits of information are amenable to both oral and written discourse presentation formats. Traditional lectures, audio visuals, and texts are "straightforward" means of presenting knowledge. Similarly, in terms of test construction, bits of information are amenable to objective test formats. And, the exams are machine scorable. On the other hand, instructors who have more application objectives tend to teach using a different type of lecture (a walk through the problem) and to require problem computation on their examinations. Hence, they must be instructor-scored. Similarly, instructors may shy away from delineating and assessing affective objectives despite their stated goals of interesting students in the subject matter because of the "vagueness" surrounding them. As Bloom (1956, p. 7) noted:

> Objectives in this domain are not stated very precisely; and, in fact, teachers do not appear to be very clear about the learning experiences which are appropriate to these objectives. It is difficult to describe the behaviors appropriate to these objectives since the internal or covert feelings and emotions are as significant for this domain as are the overt behavioral manifestations.

Therefore, by emphasizing knowledge objectives, the instructor increases the efficiency of the instructional process in terms of objectives, methods, and assessment. And, s/he also has concrete evidence of student "learning".

A final factor which may be contributing to the development of knowledge objectives is the motivational orientation of students at Oakwood. Instructors at Oakwood are particularly concerned about the lack of preparedness and motivation of students. For example, an accounting instructor, in his ideal class, said that he would have

> ...students with firm background in business and extensive readers of all materials.

In describing students as they actually were, he commented:

> students generally have low motivation...the principal problem is homework, that is, getting them to do it.

When asked about student objectives for his course, he replied:

> To get through it since this course is required for any business degree.

By the time many students reach the community college, they are socialized into memorizing a body of information whether or not they find immediate use for it or whether it meets any of their needs other than obtaining a grade. Over time, collectively, these students exert an influence on instructors. For a variety of reasons, instructors and students may jointly "buy into" classes with low level cognitive objectives, lectures, and objective tests. In fact, this type of class constitutes the prototypical class for non-lab, occupational and transfer classes at Oakwood.

The Content of the Objectives

Regarding the content of the objectives, it is clear that instructors do not have many objectives related to reading and writing (except where language use or learning is the central purpose of the course). This finding is butressed by instructors' ratings of the primacy of basic skills in five areas (reading, writing, listening, speaking and math). (See Instructional Design Interviews in Methodological Appendix.) The skills rated as primary by the majority of faculty rating each item are listed in Table 8.8. First, it is clear that more listening skills are considered to be primary than other basic skills. Second, only three reading skills were viewed as primary by the majority of faculty interviewed and two of these involve content-specific vocabulary and following specific directions. Further, 94% of the faculty felt that developing the habits of reading widely in the content area and increasing interest in reading in general were not primary concerns for them.

A similar pattern exists for writing. From Table 8.8, we see that the only writing skill viewed as primary by the majority of faculty interviewed was taking lecture notes. Further, 82% of the faculty felt that being able to organize an essay from a self-generated outline was not a primary concern for them.

Table 8.8

Specific Skills Viewed as Primary by a Majority of Instructors (N=23)

Basic Skill	Item	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents Indicating Skill Was Primary
Listening (Form B)	to distinguish English vocabulary items	15	53
Listening (Form B)	to understand oral directions from the teacher	15	73
Listening (Form B)	to understand the main idea of short explanations made by the teacher	15	67
Listening (Form B)	to understand the major points of a lecture	15	60
Listening (Form B)	to understand oral questions of the teacher concerning subject matter	15	67
Listening (Form B)	to understand other students' questions and interactions with the teacher in the class	15	53
Listening (Form A)	to listen to teacher lectures	8	100
Listening (Form A)	to listen to media presentations	8	50
Listening (Form A)	to listen to discussions	8	50
Listening (Form A)	to listen, in general, in class	8	100
Listening (Form A)	to ask for clarification or repetition	8	50
Listening (Form A)	to demonstrate what they have heard or comprehended on tests	8	75
Listening (Form A)	to ask review questions of a factual nature	6	75
Reading	to learn specialized/technical vocabulary (content-specific)	17	53
Reading	to understand the general meaning of a selection	17	65
Reading	to follow specific directions	17	59
Speaking (Form A)	to be organized and clear and concise in the use of oral language	7	71
Writing (Form A)	to take lecture notes	6	67

Instructor Adaptation

To obtain a temporal perspective on the kinds of objectives instructors had and on their instructional and assessment activities, we conducted interviews on change and adaptation with the eight instructors who participated in the last wave of instructional design interviews. In addition, we supplemented these data with interview data collected as part of the faculty ethnography and faculty interviews. It should be noted that Oakwood has a very stable, aging faculty. Seventy-one percent of the faculty have been at Oakwood for at least ten years which represents two-thirds of the institution's life.

Changes in Students

All instructors interviewed noted some changes in the student population. Specific changes identified focused on three areas: age, classroom behavior, and basic skills.

Six of the eight instructors interviewed noted differences in the age of students. All felt that older students had better skills, particularly grammar skills and listening skills. It was also important that they had a more mature outlook on life, more experience with the world. This often meant that they were more inclined to participate in class discussions and to see the relevance of topics. According to one instructor, in general, "the older student is a better listener and generally a better student and more motivated."

Two groups of younger students were identified by one instructor. For these younger students, it was stated that the serious students are more serious and more likely to worry about what they were going to do. The other group of younger students seem less interested and less competent.

A respondent commented during the faculty ethnography that:

> These students are so ill-prepared for college, that think they want to learn but who are not willing to undergo the torment of learning because there is a certain amount of aggravation with learning. When you're learning, it's stress. It should be pleasurable, let's hope it's pleasurable, but there has to be some stress because you are making an effort to learn something that you didn't know before, to look at something from a new way that you never looked at before. Most of these students come in with preconditioned ideas and I think that they think a junior college is going to be just a glorified high school, it's going to be an easy breeze.

Five instructors who have been at the campus at least ten years noted changes in the classroom behavior of students. Two felt there were more immature students with the inherent problems of shorter attention spans and poor quality work. Another gave specific examples of differences in student behavior including not proofing their work or catching their own errors. It was further noted by two instructors that students don't ask questions if they don't understand. In some cases, they do not even seem to want an explanation for information that they don't understand. During a faculty ethnography interview, an instructor complained about the grade-oriented nature of current students:

> ...the kids will argue with you on points that they never would have even remotely thought worth mentioning because they are so concerned about the grade rather than what they are learning. This is very marked in the classes, very marked.

Another felt that increased numbers of adult students in the classroom helped increase the quality of the class. He stated, "Adults set the tone of the class." Another felt that students straight out of high school did not understand the role of the teacher who is there to help them, because they are use to a teacher as a disciplinarian. Students often say that in high school they were simply there to fill in the time in a class. One instructor felt that younger students did not know the rules of the class and that they were genuinely surprised by the amount of work required.

Changing classroom behavior may be related to identified changes in student goals. Two instructors noted that students seem less interested while two others specifically stated that students are not working toward achieving goals. One instructor noted that some students may attend school simply for financial benefits. He did qualify this, however, by saying that it had lessened since VA benefits have tighter requirements and students must pay back financial aid if they don't finish a course. Another suggested that "young students were at the college because they don't know what else to do."

Regarding changes in basic skills, one instructor specifically noted that although his colleagues tell him that the general ability level of students has been deteriorating, he is not so sure. Another felt that, although students were more diverse in terms of ability and basic skills, on the average they were equivalent to previous students. The six other instructors, however, identified specific changes in the basic skills of their students. Reading is seen as more of a problem than it was ten years ago. "It makes no difference how easy the book is, some students still can't read it."

In five classes, writing was seen as a major problem. Even in an occupational course which does not include writing requirements, the instructor was concerned about the amount of time she had to spend teaching basic grammar and spelling skills to her students. One transfer instructor stated, "Writing skills have deteriorated." Another commented, "It is hard to figure out what the student is trying to say... There is a worsening ability to express even simple ideas." Three instructors noted that the increase in writing problems was why they had moved from essay to objective exams.

The instructors whose courses included even a small amount of mathematics stated that it was necessary to spend more time teaching basic math or algebra. In the occupational course, it was noted that students have a terrible time even adding numbers. In two higher level transfer courses, the instructor noted that he must spend time teaching basic algebra and attempting to eliminate fears of mathematics. One stated, "Most students have poor math backgrounds... The primary and secondary educational system is failing to produce literate people."

Vocabulary and listening were also seen by at least two instructors as declining. One stated, "Students coming right out of high school have poor vocabularies." Another commented, "Reading comprehension gives them the most problems, followed by listening skills."

Two instructors related some of the changes in basic skill levels to changing student groups. They identified more foreign students who have a language problem. As they saw it, in the past a screening mechanism worked fairly well so that those foreign students who entered classes could handle the work. Foreign students today do not seem as well prepared. It was also noted that there are more Blacks and Chicanos and they don't have the background preparing them for college. Thus, according to one instructor's perception, they tend to have poorer reading skills and shorter attention spans. The other put the matter thusly: "If we increase the number of minority students, we're going to have to try to bring them up to our level."

Instructors were also concerned with "thinking skills". One noted that students have less abstract thinking ability. Another said, "The greatest discrepancy between what is real and what is ideal for my students is an ability to draw logical conclusions."

In summarizing the situation, one instructor stated, "Overall, students have not learned to think, to read, to spell, or to add and subtract." Another speculated that probably the skill level has gone down because the college has encouraged greater numbers of students to attend. However, he acknowledged, "It is also possible that the passage of time makes you think back to 'the good old days'."

These findings are corroborated by the faculty ethnography interviews. Faculty reported that there have been great changes in students in the last five to six years. All faculty interviewed reported that students have significantly poorer reading and writing skills.

Instructor Coping

Lower reading and writing skill levels have affected the choice of texts and the process employed. From the faculty ethnography, it is clear that faculty report spending more time in choosing texts. Since they are committed to a text for two years, they try to make this choice with care. Texts are being examined for readability using the campus service and ones with lower reading levels are favored. Faculty are making a careful attempt to get student evaluations on textbooks. A faculty member in Data Processing reported that roughly two-thirds of the students in classes he evaluated reported that the book was too difficult to read. The campus Bookstore supervisor stated that an Introductory Psychology text had sold very poorly. Four thousand copies came in and only 180 copies were sold. The instructor adapted by lowering the curve for tests from this text at the start of the course. The Bookstore supervisor also reported that many students sell their books and they come back in looking new.

Faculty show many innovative responses to demands placed on them by poorly prepared students. A faculty member in Data Processing has placed all of his handouts on the computer, as well as additional lessons and files of hints. He uses the computer in a tutorial mode and is able to save time by telling students to look up the file they want.

Faculty also respond to student preparation by lowering demands, especially for reading and writing. Some faculty have developed essentially remedial course outlines or lab manuals that stress material that will be covered in lecture and in the text. Many have reduced the amount of material covered. Very few faculty outside of English courses require writing. Although faculty were asked if they had writing demands or if they knew of any courses that did, faculty had a difficult time identifying courses which required any writing other than multiple choice exams.

During the faculty ethnography, an instructor alluded to the direct affect of poorer preparation on assessment:

> ...What's even more ludicrous, which I think you would agree, is here we are teaching about literature and yet we permit them to write research papers on any subject that they choose. To me there is such a dichotomy of thinking if we would just say, 'okay produce a paper only in the realm of literature' you know why we stopped that? Because these students cannot handle it. We use to do this when I first came here. We were insistent that they wrote on literature. Write a research paper on literature. They cannot do it. They cannot.

This particular instructor adapted by requiring a two-page career paper in the course prerequisite to English Literature:

> I guess I maintain that we should prepare them both for an appreciation of culture and for the world at work. So many of our students are terminal students. When in the realm of work will they ever need research papers and yet we make a big thing of it in

> 102. I maintain it should be for information gathering. They should learn where sources are. They should learn how to evaluate these sources and then come to a conclusion about what they've learned. So, I get my digs in in English 101. If they say to me, 'I don't have a career, I'm just drifting.' I say, 'Fine. Find any career and do research.'

It is, perhaps, in the area of testing that we see the most pervasive adaptation by faculty. Four instructors noted that exams have changed. One instructor has done away with formal exams, feeling that most exams are glorified trivia exercises where the student simply crams with the intention of forgetting later. Three other instructors prefer essay exams, but because of increased difficulties in simply reading students' writing, they have moved from essay to objective tests.

In commenting on why faculty have discarded writing assignments, a respondent in the faculty ethnography remarked:

> Well, you can understand why because if teachers have sixty to seventy students, when are they going to grade them? So they do the easiest thing. You look at any class that fills up with jocks and you've got to be suspect about what that teacher is teaching in relation to what he's demanding of his or her students. I mean this quite seriously. I'm talking about, you look at--I don't want to mention any particular department--but we who teach here know. And when certain classes start filling up with jocks, it's because no demands are made of them, and I'm talking about liberal arts classes because word gets around. Believe me, word gets around.

Some faculty fashion a rationale for deleting writing based upon its lack of functional utility for students:

> How often will a person do actual writing in his career? When we really stop to think about it, how often is a person required to write in a demanding fashion when he leaves high school? Since he hasn't been expected to write much in high school, how many jobs require writing?

In response to the question, have you had to lower your standards or change your teaching strategies because of changes in students, three instructors replied flatly, "yes". Another noted that he is less demanding in requirements and a fifth acknowledged that he may have mellowed in what he expects of students. An instructor with five years of teaching stated that he had made changes but it was hard to say if this reflected the fact that he was learning how to teach or changes in the students themselves. Four instructors noted that they had to place more emphasis on recognizing individual differences in working with students on an individual basis. Three instructors stressed the importance of the community college philosophy of meeting the students where they were and taking them as far as they could go. Most instructors seemed to feel that it had been necessary to modify expectations, i.e., they had become more "realistic" regarding what students could be expected to accomplish in the class.

Two instructors noted that they are more prone to pitch the class to a lower level of students. Initially, they did not worry about the middle to lower half of the class, but rather taught so the upper third would be comfortable and middle students would have to reach to obtain the information. In making these adjustments, one instructor felt that he can now see some boredom in his good students.

In addition to recognizing individual differences, one instructor has incorporated audio-visual materials more throughout his class. He feels these materials can be used to help improve the students' attention span and that they provide more ways for the student to see information. Hopefully, by providing the same information in a number of formats, more information is "bound to rub off".

Another instructor indicated that she went over the text in class because the students couldn't handle it on their own. Another said, "I have to do a lot of remedial work as I teach course content. The ability level is down so I must be more concrete and less abstract in teaching."

Inspection of the number of different activities instructors mentioned that they employed to cover each objective substantiates the observation that redundancy is prevalent. Across 21 classes, the mean ratio of number of activities used per objective to number of objectives was 2.41. Thus, instructors tend to have low level cognitive objectives and to provide two or more means by which students can access the information.

Instructors also noted changes in teaching methods. One instructor indicates that, more and more, she has to deliver the material to them despite her preference for discussion and student-instructor question-answer techniques. A second instructor emphasizes teaching students how to think in class and noted that the best compliment she had received was when students told her that she had taught them how to think. A third instructor reported that she tried to cluster concepts and relate them to life experiences.

Many of the adaptations can be considered in relation to time allocation. Faculty report that the greatest demand placed on them by students is for their time both in and out of class. One additional constraint must also be considered. Most faculty teach a 15 hour load per semester. If a faculty member teaching social or natural science courses assigns a writing task, he/she will be facing over 125 papers to grade, assuming that one assignment is given in each class. The college has a policy which states that assignments and tests must be returned promptly. Prompt is considered to be one, maximum two weeks time. Thus, the labor involved also works against writing tasks. In addition, if instructors attempt to correct the mechanical aspects of the writing, the task becomes enormous.

Faculty perceptions of poor academic preparation of students and poor attitude toward classes might lead them to "crack down" on students. For example, class attendance is poor in the day division and instructors may drop students from the class for three absences. However, very few instructors do this for two stated reasons. First, they show a concern for the student and extenuating circumstances which for OCC students are many. The second reason is that faculty are aware that retention data are kept on their classes and most would prefer not to have a low rate. Absences cause faculty additional work including time spent in giving make-up exams, waiting for late assignments, and in office hours to go over missed material. In the developmental classes, tardiness was also a major factor. Most faculty in these classes adopt one of two strategies: 1) they repeat material when late students arrive; 2) they structure class time so that no content material is introduced in the first 20-30 minutes of the period. Both of these strategies have consequences for literacy development and for classroom socialization. Over the course of a semester, these strategies may reduce course content by half while simultaneously reinforcing the student behavior with which they are designed to cope. Students in Intensive ESL and the developmental block are often greeted warmly when they arrive late - another reinforcement.

In addition to demands emanating from students, administrators place demands on faculty, particularly as a consequence of funding constraints. We have already discussed the load problem with respect to transfer courses. Although some allowance for grading demands is made in English courses, faculty do not believe it is sufficient and see it as forcing them to give less writing to students. Faculty in other occupational programs complain of lack of facilities for students. For example, Data Processing has less computer capacity than it needs. Classroom space is already at a premium. Lack of phones in faculty offices and someone to answer them is hard on faculty involved heavily with students, particularly in the ESL and developmental areas. There is inadequate clerical and operations support. Faculty often have to buy their own paper and do their own typing if they can find a free typewriter.

Ideal Teaching Situation

Another way of considering adaptation is to ask how one would like things to be if there were no constraints. During the faculty interviews, we put this question to 26 respondents.[2] Fifty percent of the faculty indicated that in the "ideal" teaching situation, they would have highly motivated students:

> Everyone would be enthusiastic all the time. Everyone would participate.
>
> To have highly motivated students.
>
> I would want all students to be highly motivated and interested.

Next most frequently mentioned were knowledgeable and able students (31%) and instructional methods (31%):

> A seminar group, a small group with a good base in history.
>
> To have students with a mastery of the subject matter.
>
> Students would have a working knowledge of beginning algebra.
>
> More demonstrations and audio-visual materials, better quality materials.
>
> There would be lecture four days, then open discussion for one day for two hours in a more relaxed setting.
>
> It would be a series of steps with formalized lecture... less formal discussion still in the classroom... after going into the lab.

Other factors mentioned by at least 20% of the interviewees were the physical environment (27%) and class size (23%):

> I would have a good lecture and lab area.
>
> Use a different room. Clock would not be behind me. Movable chairs. More broad space. Good facility for using audio-visuals and films.
>
> A math lab, a large room with tables, a testing area.
>
> Would like to have fewer students (20-25 per class instead of the 35-40 she typically has).
>
> Like to have smaller classes (25-30 per class instead of the 45-50 he typically has).
>
> I'd prefer fewer students (25 per class instead of the 35 she typically has).

These findings suggest that faculty perceive that students are not trying as hard as they should. Teachers and students may share the view that effort rather that ability is the key to learning and performance (grade attainment). The desire to employ different instructional methods may interact with perceptions of motivation and knowledge. If the students are unprepared, then having a discussion is viewed as a futile activity. This is particularly true of transfer faculty. They feel thwarted in terms of using instructional methods (other than lecture) by the low level of preparation and enthusiasm of their students; that is, they feel they must repeat coverage of the material and that students ask few penetrating and exciting questions. By comparison, occupational faculty complain more about entry level skills. Apparently, occupational instructors are finding that some students are lacking minimal levels of expertise. The lack of such expertise, then, slows down the instructor, making coverage of the skills and knowledge they have established as objectives problematic.

The (perceived) lack of effort on the part of students, on the other hand, may be in part a function of the instructional methods and objectives. It is hard to imagine the typical student being kindled to great expenditures of efforts when an instructor is lecturing and testing for low level cognitive objectives and the material is also available in the textbook.

Interestingly, only one teacher commented on a change which would be in him/herself. Thus, for 96% of the faculty, in the ideal situation, change would be initiated either in the students, physical environment or methods. This finding suggests that instructors may perceive the locus of their problems as being external to them. They may not perceive themselves as being an active agent in the creation of situations which they evaluate negatively.

To summarize, we can say that teachers perceive students to represent a more diverse group with a larger number being of "inferior" quality. Most do not conceive of their teaching role as encompassing the development of basic skills. They are content specialists who identify with their disciplines. If they attempt to deal with the literacy and language-related issues by facing them squarely, then it will involve a great deal of work and time with little, if any, encouragement from their peers. If they don't tackle the issue head-on, then they must circumvent it. As a psychology instructor so aptly put it: "If they lower standards then they are helping to perpetuate problems of incompetency. If they don't lower standards, then they can't reach many people. Teachers are in a bind."

This quote brings into focus the horns of the dilemma facing instructors. On the one hand "good" instructors are often thought of as adapting to the characteristics of their students. If their students study less and have more trouble reading and writing, then doesn't the "good" instructor find alternative ways to deliver the content? This is what the psychology instructor was referring to when he talked about "reaching many people". On the other hand, "good" instructors are often thought of as being demanding (but fair). If they don't make their college students "text" in reading and writing, are they contributing to the "literacy problem" in this country? And, what about the community's view of a publically supported institution where instructors let college students "get by"? This is what the psychology instructor was referring to when he mentioned "if they lower standards, they are helping to perpetuate problems of incompetency."

Relationship Between Content and Types of Instructor Objectives and Varieties Literacy

The content and type of objectives instructors possess has consequences for literacy in at least three ways. The absence of instructor objectives in content courses related to reading and writing leads to a paradox. On the one hand, instructors want students to have adequate entry level reading and writing skills. On the other hand, they don't take a frontal tack in dealing with perceived skill inadequacy. Thus, one consequence of having only "content-related" objectives is that students are not likely to enhance their interest, habits, and skills related to reading and writing.

An important question, then, for instructional design at the community college is how to foster the development of reading and writing skills. One possible strategy is not to make reading and writing terminal objectives. Instead, reading and writing should be made necessary enabling skills, their use linked to successful completion of the course objectives. Implementation of this approach would require considerable consultation between instructors and instructional designers. However, if teachers do not actively attempt to foster the development of reading and writing, who will?

There is a second way in which the absence of instructor objectives related to reading and writing in content courses affects the literacy behavior observed at Oakwood. Namely, students come to perceive reading and writing as means as opposed to ends. While teachers expect students to read and write, they do not comment on or grade student reading or writing. Consequently, students use reading and writing as they see fit. By this we mean, that while social conventions exist which call for reading and writing in the classroom (e.g., note taking during a lecture), students are not evaluated on the process or product. Thus, students choose when they will use reading and writing as opposed to its use being prescribed by the instructor. And reading and writing come to be seen as tools. This point is underscored by the observation that many students did not view the reading and writing which they did to be "real" reading and writing. In effect, students were saying that we're not engaging in prototypical reading and writing (what we call texting).

This brings us to the third way in which course objectives influence the nature of literacy. Low level cognitive objectives ("isolable bits of information") are prevalent. These objectives are usually covered by lectures and assessed by multiple choice tests. In such circumstances, should we be surprised that many students engage in efficient strategies and "bit" their way through their courses. To illustrate how instructors with low level cognitive objectives facilitate bitting, we offer a vignette of an information broker.

Ms. Flanders - An Information Broker[3]

Ms. Flanders described her approach to teaching as follows:

> I'm a straightforward lecturer. The amount of a material and the newness of the material make it a hard course...I give them study guides which are very detailed.

The participant observer described a typical Microbiology class as follows:

> The instructor turns her back on the class and writes the first entry of today's lecture outline on the board. Then she returns to the lectern on her desk and looks at us. Everyone gets quiet and we are all ready to take notes. We write down what is on the board and then the instructor begins to lecture in her soft, soothing voice about diseases caused by certain microbes. She uses the board often to write down more outline entries and to draw the structure of various microbes. She writes the genus and species names of the microbes as she describes them and what their functions are. Whatever she writes or draws on the board I put in my notes. This is all important information for the test coming up.
>
> The instructor always stayed on the topic and very seldom even brought in personal references to illustrate a point. The few times she mentioned her family or a personal experience, it was a surprise but always relevant to the topic. The instructor very seldom asked students questions during the lecture. If she did, it was usually informal and whoever knew the answer would blurt it out.

> ...She told them outright that the textbook was of "high reading level and difficult." She told them not to spend lots of time reading before they came to class but afterwards. She said to skim the chapter, come to class, take notes, and then read the chapter. She also told students they didn't have to know so much Chemistry. "Your textbook really gets into Chemistry." Although she never directly told the students not to use the textbook, she did tell them "I will never ask a question on a test that I haven't covered in class." She also said, "Your textbook is an aid."
>
> The instructor also used a study guide and when she handed it out, she said, "I can guarantee you that if you can answer these questions, you're going to pass the course, but your grade depends on how well you answer the questions." Throughout the semester before a test, the instructor freely answered student questions on the study guide. She gave examples of test questions and what names to know and not know. She also explained various techniques for answering different types of questions.
>
> The instructor's strategy for allowing students to succeed in her class included giving organized class lectures, writing notes on the board, telling explicitly her requirements and what she wanted them to know, giving a study guide over each unit and going over each exam after it was graded. When the instructor saw that students were writing only what she did on the board, she adapted her own notes and made them much more complete. She also said it slowed her down so students could keep up.

Conclusion

We have observed that the course requirements are set by the instructor. The modal instructor is a knowledge broker who wants to insure that information basic to his or her discipline is transferred to the students. Over the years, instructors have come to acknowledge that many students are requirement meeters and homeostasis has been achieved. The instructor plays an active role in maintaining equilibrium by using multiple choice tests emphasizing recognition, by providing extensive cueing, and by covering text material in class.

Student motivational orientations and course objectives are an important piece in the interpretation of the reading and writing behavior we observed. Further explanation requires that we look at the classroom context. Instructors and students work within a context which is already established. The operations used by students and instructor in their actions are determined by the conditions that exist. In the next chapter, we turn to our findings on the classroom context.

ENDNOTES

1. A description of how these data were collected, coded and analyzed is provided in the Instructional Design Interviews section of the Methodological Appendix.

2. These data were collected, coded, and analyzed by Max Coffey and Paula King (See Faculty Interview section of the Methodological Appendix). Statements included here are paraphrases as opposed to verbatim quotes.

3. The vignettes which appeared in the preceeding chapter were based on students enrolled in this instructor's class.

4. Data were collected and analyzed for the first two semesters by Deborah Baldwin, project researcher.

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CHAPTER IX

CLASSROOM CONTEXT FOR LITERACY AT OAKWOOD

In chapters seven and eight we examined the course motivational orientations of students and instructors. In this chapter we will follow the students and instructors into the classroom to observe the course-related events which provide the context for literacy.[1] This consideration of context is essential for an understanding of classroom literacy. While the overall shape of a student's course-related activities may be directed by his or her motivational orientation, the choice of specific operations to be used (such as reading and writing) involves the nature of the classroom conditions under which these activities are carried out.

In fact, we did find distinctive types of events associated with each of the three varieties of reading and writing described in Chapter Six. These reading and writing behaviors become more meaningful when they are embedded within classroom activity, which is recognized to be both goal-directed and situation-specific.

The Concept of Event

In talking about the teaching-learning activity of the classroom, students, instructors and researchers typically described actions within events (e.g. taking notes during a lecture). Consequently, we view events as descriptive units which correspond to how students and instructors perceptually chunk the activity within, and external to, a classroom. More specifically, we defined an event as: units of ongoing activity which are recognizable as distinct entities by participants and researchers.

Burnett (1973), who pioneered event analysis of classroom settings, noted the naturalness of events as units:

> Regarding the classrooms...as a stream of behavior, we could perceive phases or segments of that stream that seemed to have natural breaks. ...we would label as 'event' that segment with a certain 'natural' or 'easily developed' sense of integrality to it. (pp. 290-291)

When participants were asked to describe the specific classroom events they identified (such as a lecture, a discussion, or a lab), they usually talked about who was there, what they were doing, and where they were situated. For some events, participants talked about the room and what physical objects were present. When questioned further, they would describe how long activities lasted and in what sequence they occurred.

This participant perspective on events is in line with Burnett's (1973) suggestions about the distinctive features of events.

> We describe an event by describing where it is, what objects are involved, what actions and what inter-occur and who participates, and when these elements appear, in the order of their appearance... (p. 293)

In following Burnett and remaining consistent with the grounded notion of events emerging from our data, we describe events in terms of: 1) a social dimension focusing on the participants and their organization for interaction, 2) a physical dimension entailing a consideration of objects and their spatial arrangement, and 3) a temporal dimension concerned with the duration and sequencing of activity. In addition, we consider 4) the specific configurations of verbal and nonverbal behaviors associated with each event type.

These four aspects of events are described for each of the varieties of literacy we have identified -- thereby adding to the profiles we are building of these varieties. Table 9.1 lists the events most typically associated with each of the three varieties of literacy. Events less frequently reported are described in Endnote 2. Table 9.2 gives information regarding the frequency of courses reporting each event while Table 9.3 lists the specific courses reporting each event.

Table 9.1

Events reported as frequent* events in three types of courses associated with three varieties of literacy.

Information Transfer Courses

Content Lecture. The instructor presents information orally, writes accompanying notes on a blackboard, and asks and answers a few student questions.

Anecdotal Lecture. The instructor presents information orally in narrative form without aide of written materials.

Audio-Visual Presentation. A film, videotape, or slide-tape is shown with no instructor lecture.

Math Procedures Lecture. The instructor "thinks aloud"" as s/he solves a math problem on the blackboard.

Text-Dependent Lecture. The instructor refers to a textbook or written document as s/he speaks.

Large Group Discussion. The instructor asks and answers questions from a few students.

Text-Dependent Discussion. Instructor refers to a textbook on written document as s/he asks and answers student questions.

Objective Test. Students indicate answers to multiple-choice, matching, and other written test items which require no written verbal response.

Read the Text. Students read through the textbook for overall understanding.

Study for the Test. Students engage in a variety of reading tasks (i.e. review notes, text, handouts) to prepare for a test.

Work Problems. Students solve mathematical and statistical problems writing out all steps in the process.

Basic Language Skills Courses

Guided Workbook Exercise. The instructor calls on students to do exercises from workbook pages which everyone is filling out.

Text-Dependent Drill. Students refer to written materials as they answer instructor questions.

Dictation. Students transcribe speech from the instructor or a tape.

Individual Workbook with Tutor Assistance. Students in a group interact with each other and a tutor as they complete workbook pages.

Small Group Discussions. Students interact with each other as they discuss assigned topics.

Individual Workbook. Students work independently on workbook pages and may occasionally use the instructor as a resource.

Table 9.1
(Continued)

Lab Courses

Lab. Students interact with each other as they share equipment and materials while working on individual performance tasks.

Demonstration Lecture. The instructor manipulates objects or equipment as s/he speaks.

Audio Lecture. The instructor displays slides or other visual aides as s/he lectures.

Audio Presentation.

Demonstration Drill. The students manipulate equipment or objects as they answer instructor questions.

Observation Drill. The students refer to a visual display as they answer instructor questions.

*Included are only those events which were reported as frequent in at least one third of the courses in a given category. Events were considered frequent when they accounted for at least one quarter of the time associated with most course sessions.

Social Organization of Classroom Events

As part of the ongoing transactions of classroom events, a social organization is established. The participants "organize themselves into interacting systems" (Wolcott, 1975, p. 23) and define roles, norms, and patterns for interaction and mechanisms of social control.

Participants usually share a prototype for the social organization of classroom events based on decades of experience in similar contexts. In most cases, they quickly establish and easily maintain a social organization for their interaction which allows them to make sense of what happens and to participate in a competent and meaningful way. The well-defined nature of the situation, however, obscures the fact that the social context is a dynamic phenomenon constructed by the participants (Blumer, 1969; Cicourel et al, 1974; Mehan, 1978). At any moment the participants are contributing to the maintenance or modification of the context. Stability in social context is an indication that participants continue to share a common definition of classroom events.

Events in college classrooms have a social context which reflects the fact that they are what Goffman (1961) calls "situated activity systems" or "focused gatherings" because they involve interaction which is focused.

> Focused interaction occurs when people effectively agree to sustain for a time a single focus of cognitive and visual attention... (Goffman, 1961, p. 1).

Of course, focused gatherings cannot exclude unfocused interaction.

> Unfocused interaction consists of those interpersonal communications that result solely by virtue of persons being in one anothers presence, as when two strangers across the room from each other check up on each other's clothing, posture, and general manner, while each modifies his own demeanor because he, himself, is under observation. (p. 1)

Table 9.2

Percent of Courses in Ethnographic Sample Reporting Each of 35 Types of Course Events
*Events Included in Table 9.1

	Percent of All Courses (n=26)			Percent of Developmental Courses[1] (n=10)			Percent of Lab Courses[1] (n=4)			Percent of Non-Developmental Nonlab Courses[1] (n=12)		
	Frequent	Some	Total[2]	Frequent	Some	Total[2]	Frequent	Some	Total[2]	Frequent	Some	Total[2]
In-Class Events												
*Anecdotal Lecture	15	42	58	20	50	70	0	25	25	17	42	58
*Audio-visual Lecture	8	8	15	0	0	0	50	0	50	0	17	17
*Demonstration Lecture	12	12	23	0	10	10	75	0	75	0	17	17
*Audio-visual Presentation	12	23	35	0	10	10	0	75	75	17	8	25
*Math Procedures Lecture	15	23	38	0	10	10	0	50	50	33	25	58
*Content Lecture	35	19	54	0	20	20	75	0	75	50	25	75
*Text Dependent Lecture	15	27	42	10	30	40	25	25	50	17	25	42
*Large Group Discussion	38	15	54	60	20	80	0	25	25	33	8	42
*Text Dependent Discussion	N/A	23	23	0	0	0	0	25	25	0	42	42
*Student Oral Presentation	0	8	8	20	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
*Individual Workbook with Tutor	19	0	19	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0
Group Project	12	8	19	0	10	10	0	25	25	17	8	25
*Lab	15	0	15	0	0	0	100	0	100	0	0	0

Table 9.2
(Continued)
*Events Included in Table 9.1

	Percent of All Courses (n=26)			Percent of Developmental Courses[1] (n=10)			Percent of Lab Courses[1] (n=4)			Percent of Non-Developmental Nonlab Courses[1] (n=12)		
	Frequent	Some	Total[2]	Frequent	Some	Total[2]	Frequent	Some	Total[2]	Frequent	Some	Total[2]
*Small Group Discussion	12	0	12	30	0	30	0	0	0	0	0	0
*Guided Workbook Exercise	23	8	27	50	10	60	0	0	0	0	0	0
*Text Dependent Drill	12	12	23	20	30	50	0	0	0	8	0	8
Oral Drill	0	4	4	0	10	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Written Response Drill	4	12	15	0	20	20	0	0	0	8	8	17
*Dictation	4	12	15	0	30	30	25	0	25	0	0	0
*Observation Drill	0	12	12	0	10	10	0	50	50	0	0	0
*Demonstration Drill	4	8	12	0	10	10	25	25	50	0	0	0
*Individual Workbook[3]	4	15	19	10	40	50	0	0	0	0	0	0
*Objective Test	N/A	58	58	0	20	20	N/A	75	75	N/A[1]	83	83
Short Answer Test	N/A	15	15	0	20	20	N/A	25	25	N/A	8	8
Essay Test	N/A	8	8	0	0	0	N/A	0	0	N/A	17	17
Out-of-Class Events												
*Read the Text[4]	23	42	65	0	20	20	25	50	75	42	58	100
*Study for Test[4]	46	15	62	10	20	30	50	25	75	75	8	83
Study Guide	8	12	19	0	0	0	25	25	50	8	17	25

Table 9.2
(Continued)
*Events Included in Table 9.1

	Percent of All Courses (n=26)			Percent of Developmental Courses[1] (n=10)			Percent of Lab Courses[1] (n=4)			Percent of Non-Developmental Nonlab Courses[1] (n=12)		
	Frequent	Some	Total[2]	Frequent	Some	Total[2]	Frequent	Some	Total[2]	Frequent	Some	Total[2]
*Work Problems	12	8	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	17	42
Text Questions	0	12	12	0	0	0	0	25	25	0	17	17
Compositions[5]	8	8	15	10	20	30	0	0	0	8	0	8
Journal[5]	8	0	8	10	0	10	0	0	0	8	0	8
Reading Report	0	23	23	0	10	10	0	50	50	0	25	25
Lab Report	4	0	4	0	0	0	25	0	25	0	0	0
Research Paper	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	8

[1] These three groupings of courses were the basis for the prototypical course types we have described for the three varieties of literacy we observed. The basic language skills course was derived from the developmental courses, the vocational lab course from the lab courses, and the information transfer course from the nondevelopmental nonlab courses.

[2] Discrepancies in totals are due to rounding of percents.

[3] Some of this activity occurred out-of-class.

[4] In some courses this was an event for a minority of students.

[5] In some courses this event occurred in class.

Table 9.3

Courses Reporting Each of 35 Types of Classroom Events

In-Class Events

	Anecdotal Lecture	Audio-Visual Lecture	Demonstration Lecture	Audio-Visual Presentation	Math Procedures Lecture	Content Lecture	Text Dependent Lecture	Large Group Discussion	Text Dependent Discussion	Student Oral Presentation
ESL Block (LS 059)	S		S					S		
Block I Math					X					
Block I Reading	X						S	X		
Block I Counseling	S			S			S	X		
Block II English								X		S
Block II Reading	S			S		S		S		
Block II Counseling	S							X		
Reading for ESL (RD 010)							X			
Language Skills (EN 015)	S			X				X		S
Eng. Composition (EN091-101)	X					S	S	X		
Eng. Composition (EN 101)	X					S		X		
Eng. Composition (EN 102)	X					S	X	X	S	
Western Civilization (HI101)	S					X			S	
American History (HI 103)	S					X				
Intro. Psychology (PS 101)	S	S	S	X		X				
College Algebra (MA 117)					X					
Analytic Geometry and Calculus (MA 121)					X					
Business Statistics (BU221)		S			X	S	S			

X Reported as a frequent event - i.e., it occurred during or preceding most course sessions for about 1/4 course time.

S Reported as an occasional event.

Table 9.3
(Continued)

In-Class Events

	Anecdotal Lecture	Audio-Visual Lecture	Demonstration Lecture	Audio-Visual Presentation	Math Procedures Lecture	Content Lecture	Text Dependent Lecture	Large Group Discussion	Text Dependent Discussion	Student Oral Presentation
Intro. to Business (GB151)	S				S	X	S	X	S	
Economics (EC 201)	S				S	X		S		
Nutrition (HE 141)				X	S		S	X	S	
Electronics (EL 100)			S	S	X	X	X		S	
Microbiology (BI 203)		X	X		S	X	X		S	
Experimental Psychology (PS 290)	S		X	S	S	X	S	S		
Automotives (AU 104)		X	X	S		X				
Office Machines (OE 205				S						

X Reported as a frequent event - i.e., it occurred during or preceding most course sessions for about 1/4 course time.

S Reported as an occasional event.

Table 9.3
(Continued)

In-Class Events*

	Instructor Workbook with Tutor	Group Project	Lab	Small Group Discussion	Guided Workbook Exercise	Text Dependent Drill	Oral Drill	Written Response Drill	Dictation	Observation Drill	Demonstration Drill
ESL Block (LS 059)	X				X	S	S	S		S	S
Block I Math	X				X	S					
Block I Reading	X			X	X				S		
Block I Counseling				X							
Block II English					S				S		
Block II Reading	X				X						
Block II Counseling						S					
Reading for ESL (RD 010)	X				X						
Language Skills (EN 015)				X	X	X					
Eng. Composition (EN091-101)		X				X		S	S		
Eng. Composition (EN 101)		X						S			
Eng. Composition (EN 102)								X			
Business Statistics (BU221)		S									
Intro. to Business (GB151)		X									
Nutrition (HE 141)						X					
Microbiology (BI 203)			X								
Experimental Psychology (PS 290)		S	X								
Automotives (AU 104)			X							S	X
Office Machines (OE 205)			X						X	S	S

* Only courses in which these events occurred are included.

X Reported as a frequent event - i.e., it occurred during or preceding most course sessions for about 1/4 course time.

S Reported as an occasional event.

Table 9.3
(Continued)

	In-Class Events*							Out-of-Class Events*						
	Individual Workbook without Tutor	Objective Test	Short Answer Test	Essay Test	Read Test	Study for Test	Study Guide	Work Problem	Text Questions	Composition	Journal	Reading Report	Lab Report	Research Paper
ESL Block (LS 059)	F		S		F									
Block I Reading		S												
Block II English	F					F				S				
Block II Reading	F													
Reading for ESL (RD010)	F		S		F					S				
Language Skills (EN015)						F						S		
Eng. Composition (EN091-101)	X	S			F	X				X	X			
Eng. Composition (EN101)					F					X	X			
Eng. Composition (EN102)					X				S					X
Western Civilization (HI101)		S		S	F	F	S					S		
American History (HI103)		S			X	X	X							
Intro. Psychology (PS101)		S			F	X	S							
College Algebra (MA117)		S			F	X		X						
Analytic Geometry and Calculus (MA 121)		S			F	X		X						
Business Statistics (BU221)		S			F	X		X						
Intro. to Business (GB151)		S			X	X			S			S		
Economics (EC 201)		S		S	X	X		F						
Nutrition (HE14[illegible])		S			X	X						S		
Electronics (EL100)		S	S		F	X		F						
Microbiology (BI203)		S	S		F	X	X					S		
Experimental Psychology (PS 290)		S			X	X	S		S			S	X	
Automotives (AU104)		S			F	F								

* Only courses in which these events occurred are included.

X Reported as a frequent event - i.e., it occurred during or preceding most course sessions for about 1/4 course time.

S Reported as an occasional event.

F Reported as an event for a minority of students.

Still, the special characteristics of focused gatherings include:

> maintenance of poise, capacity for non-distractive, verbal communication, adherence to a code regarding giving up and taking over the speaker role, and allocation of spacial positions. (p. 11)

Mann and his associates (1970) add to the discussion of focused and unfocused interaction on the basis of an intensive study of college classrooms. Their central concept in the analysis of classroom activity is "work", i.e. activities which meet the demands of joint educational tasks as well as the demands of developing interpersonal relationships among participants. Social organization in classrooms must take into account both of these demands for classroom work.

The Concept of Participant Structure

In order to describe the social organization of the focused gatherings in classrooms, we utilize the concept of participant structure. Erickson and Shultz (1981) defined this term broadly as "configurations for concerted activity" (p. 148) while Ogbu (1981) defines participant structure more abstractly.

> A participant structure is basically a constellation of norms, mutual rights, and obligations that shape social relationships, determine participants perceptions of what is going on in a communicative interchange, and influence the outcome of the communication, such as learning. (p. 10)

While these definitions certainly deal with topics associated with the notion of participant structure, we retain the more focused and concrete formulation of the concept originally offered by Philips (1972).

> Within the basic framework of teacher controlled interaction there are several possible variations in structural arrangements of interactions which will be referred to from here on as "participant structures". Teachers use different participant structures, or ways of arranging verbal interaction with students, for communicating different types of educational materials and for providing variation in the presentation of the same material to hold childrens interest (p. 377).

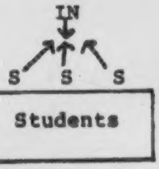
Depending on the instructional task, instructors want to facilitate one or two-way verbal interaction between students and themselves and/or among students. Philips (1972) identified a number of basic types of instructor initiated participant structures that address the common concern for the instructional task. Four aspects of interaction seem to be involved in Philips' descriptions of types of participant structures: 1) whether the class members were organized to work as a whole group, as sub-groups, or as individuals, 2) whether the whole class, a small group, or no one was audience to the students' interaction with the instructor (see also Delamont (1976) regarding public and private classroom interactions), 3) whether the interaction with instructors is voluntary or constrained, and 4) whether student interaction with other students in groups is encouraged.

Although the possible combinations of these four factors are numerous, Philips identified only four main types.[3] In the Oakwood College classrooms we studied, we identified types which overlap with those found in Philips and which could be used to characterize the course events associated with each of the three varieties of reading and writing observed.

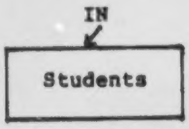
Participant Structures of Events in Information Transfer Courses

Information transfer courses with their knowledge broker instructors and requirement meeter students are characterized by events with whole group participant structures. The class works as a single group. When the instructor interacts with a student, the rest of the class is audience to that interaction. All members of the class are involved as speakers or hearers, i.e. as verbal performers or audience. This structure was the most common in our data.[4] It has four variants.

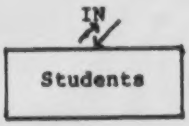
The most common variant was the lecture structure. The instructor speaks and a few students also speak voluntarily, asking or answering instructors questions. They become performers with the instructor while the majority of the class remains an audience. This was the prototypical structure for content lectures (during which students took notes) and for most (so-called) large group discussions.



A second variant was the monolog structure. The instructor is the only speaker. All students are hearers (audience). This type was used for demonstrations, audio visuals, and anecdotal lectures.



The choral response structure, a third subtype of the whole group structures, was, a specialized structure associated with mathematics and statistical procedural lectures and some drill activities. The instructor speaks, and the students occasionally respond chorally as a group.



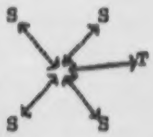
The structuring of interaction in these whole group structures seems consistent with the motivational orientations of participants. On the one hand, it facilitates the instructor's uninterrupted communication of knowledge to all students. On the other hand, it does not demand participation from the requirement meeters but allows them the freedom to use the event in ways most efficient and useful to them in meeting requirements. However, it allows the few knowledge seekers and information seekers to participate more actively.

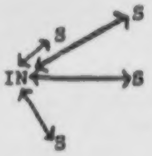
The reading and writing that occurred during these whole group participant structures was associated with a facilitation of one-way communication from instructor to students. Written language was a tool to help this interaction run more smoothly and maintain its coherent structure. Instructors used written language to make their presentation accessible to the whole group and to support their position as the single focus of attention. The students use of written language in notetaking kept them in their undifferentiated role as receptive audience.

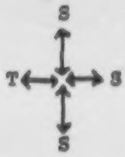
Out-of-class events were common for students in information transfer courses,[5] and they utilized a type of individual structure; but since we did not observe these events, they are not included in the discussion of participant structure.

Participant Structures in Basic Language Skills Courses

Basic Language Skills courses sometimes utilize whole group structures although usually not the lecture subtype. More typical of these courses are instructional subgroup participant structures and individual structures.[6]







For events with an instructional subgroup participant structure, the instructor would usually initiate an interaction with one group of students while the rest of the students worked in groups on assigned tasks, interacting with each other and with the tutors who were usually present throughout the session.

Within the subgroup that was interacting with the instructor, we could identify an embedded structure which was labeled a drill structure.[7] The instructor would speak and require each student individually to speak while the rest of the group served as audience. This was the structure for recitations or drill work and even for those events sometimes called small group discussions. This structure, often found in elementary schools, was reported at Oakwood only in the basic language skills courses.

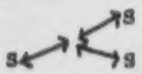
Philips reported an individual participant structure during which students worked independently and had access to private interaction with the instructor. This structure was rare in our data. Course time was seldom used for such private interaction or individual activity. Students were almost always in groups and interacted as a group with instructors and tutors.

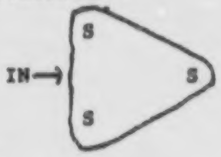
This "social" participant structuring seems consistent with the "socializer" orientation of instructors and the non-specific-information-user orientation of students. Instructors are interested in getting students to perform appropriately in classroom settings, and students are dependent on the direction possible in such a structural social context.

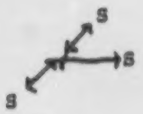
Not surprisingly, the reading and writing that occurs within this type of participant structure is highly cued, occurs along with oral language, and is directed by the instructor or tutor.

Vocational Lab Courses

Vocational lab courses sometimes utilized a monolog whole group participant structure for demonstrations and audio-visual presentations.[8] However, more characteristic of these courses is a type of small group structure we call the "work group structure". During events using this structure, small groups interact with each other independent of the instructor (and tutors are not present). When the instructor interacts with a group it is usually at the request of the students.







Only during test situations did the instructor initiate a more drill-like participant structure in requiring each student to demonstrate proficiency in a task.

The work group structuring with its emphasis on student-initiated interaction seems consistent with the guide orientation of instructors and the independent specific information user orientation of students. The use of reading and writing if it occurs within this structure is determined by the students, occurs along with oral language and manipulative activity, and is cued by the nature of the work being done.

The Physical Setting of Classroom Events - Information-Transfer Courses

Participant structures are abstract interaction patterns that must be localized in physical space around physical objects. The classroom events we observed had characteristic physical settings which seemed to be consistent with their participant structures.

The information transfer courses associated with the dominant variety of literacy at Oakwood meets in a physical space which would probably match most students' conception of a protypical classroom. Square or rectangular in shape, it had a fixed arrangement of seats (36 writing armchairs in columns, vertically aligned) oriented toward the front or instructor area where there is a blackboard and usually a table, podium, and sometimes a clock, map or chart.

This arrangement has been noted as typical of most formal educational settings. Sommer suggests this arrangement was designed to accommodate the needs of the early 1800's.

> The present rectangular room with its straight rows of chairs was intended to provide for ventilation, light, quick departure, ease of surveillance, and a host of other legitimate needs as they existed in the early 1900's... The typical long, narrow shape resulted from a desire to get light across the room. The front of the room was determined by window location, since pupils had to be seated so that window light came over the left shoulder. Despite new developments in lighting, acoustics and structures, most schools are still boxes filled with cubes, each containing a specific number of chairs in straight rows. (Sommer, 1969, pp. 98-99).

What Sommer fails to mention is that although it is now possible to design classrooms which are radically different physically, it may not be as easy to redesign the social conventions associated with columns of seats in front-oriented, rectangular rooms. These are well known, if tacitly, to students and teachers to the point that they constitute the prototypical social space in the college.

Elementary and secondary school classrooms often reflect the personal style of the instructor (Delamont, 1976), but in our data this was usually not the case. Because instructors move from classroom to classroom there are few personal touches. Because a given classroom is used for a variety of subjects, there is little, if any, presence of subject-related charts or displays. In fact, except for an occasional file cabinet, wall map, or infrequently used bulletin board, there was usually nothing else in the room save the students, the instructor, the desks, and the blackboard. This physical setting would probably strike a visitor unfamiliar with our culture as a context for a single specialized purpose. After consideration we might agree and identify that purpose as information transfer.

This setting provides an appropriate stage for the content lecture and its variants, which were the usual events in these classrooms. It reinforces the relationship between the whole group participant structuring and reading and writing. In other words, the nature and arrangement of furniture and props facilitated the instructor's use of reading and writing in the presentation of information. It encouraged him to read from notes and write on a blackboard extensively. The writing armchairs facing the blackboard in evenly spaced columns emphasized the undifferentiated nature of whole group structuring and announced the student role as notetaker.

Physical Setting in Basic Language Skills Courses

The physical setting is somewhat different for the language skills course with its socializer instructor and nonspecific information user students. Consistent with the subgroup participant structure, the physical space could be described as student-oriented. Although the size and shape of the room might be the same as that for the information transfer course, it is used quite differently. The furniture is flexibly and irregularly arranged. Students, sitting at desks or tables, clustered together according to such attributes as ethnicity, age, sex, and interest. The clusters were the multiple foci of classroom activity. The front section of the room that is the center of attention in the information transfer course might be ignored as the instructor moved in the student's space.

This physical setting, focused on groups of interacting students, seems consistent with the orientations of instructors and students. It facilitates the social form of reading and writing and strengthens the availability of cueing from instructors and tutors.

Physical Setting in Vocational Lab Courses

Finally, the vocational lab course with its guide instructor and information-user students organized in work group structures, had its own specialized physical space. This setting might be described as activity or equipment-oriented. Sometimes the overall shape and size of the room is correlated with the nature of the tasks to be done. Physical objects and furniture might be of a sort distinctive to the tasks. The automotives class, for example, took place in a high-ceilinged garage. Activities centered around a changing assortment of cars and trucks. The office machines classroom resembled an office. From the perspective of the participants, the room was broken up into distinct "areas" associated with each of four types of machines.

In these vocational lab classrooms, students arrange themselves in relationship to tasks. Usually this involves sharing equipment or facilities. Even when no equipment is directly involved as in planning activities, spatial arrangements of participants are based on the task at hand and facilitate role assignments, communication, and the sharing of written materials. Since this use of physical space was reflective of the work to be done, it was conducive to a use of reading and writing which was integrated with the task at hand.

The Temporal Dimension of Classroom Events

Another important aspect of the classroom context concerns time. The structuring of the temporal dimensions provides a framework which contributes to the definition of events and may affect the nature of the reading and writing which occurs within them.

Mehan (1978) has discussed the concept of *event structure* to describe the temporal dimension of classroom activity. Much of recent observational study of classroom interaction has been what Mehan terms "constitutive ethnography". This research attempts a micro-analysis of event structures and how they are established and maintained (Shultz & Florio, 1979; Bremme & Erickson, 1977; Green & Wallat, 1981). The perspectives of both researchers and participants have been integrated in identifying event structure.

In our data from community college classrooms we found that the structures associated with each variant of literacy could be distinguished in terms of 1) the length and scheduling of the overall class sessions; 2) the number, length and arrangement of events within a session; 3) the clarity of transitions between events and between phases of events; 4) the intersession variability in event structures and 5) the degree of continuity of any aspects of events, including context, participants, activity and content, with other parts of the individual's day. Each of these aspects of event structure will be discussed in the sections which follow.

Information Transfer Courses

The temporal dimension for information transfer classrooms involves an event structure which is, in many ways, unique in our society. What other activity occurs regularly in 50-minute frames every other day for precisely 15 weeks? This framing may have significant impact on the nature of literacy in this setting.

In classrooms where the content lecture is the usual event, it is usually the single predominant event although it may be punctuated with brief anecdotal lectures and framed by brief introductory and closing phases.[9] The structure of a session can be described as:

- Before Class Time
- Introduction
- Content Lecture
    - Embedded Anecdotal Lectures
- Closing
- After Class Time

In a content lecture class, the transitions marking the beginning and end of an event and between phases of an event are definite and usually multiply-cued. The following description of the Economics instructor at the beginning of class is a good example:

> Instructor comes in promptly at 12:00. He has a morning ritual, you could call it. He comes in, walks to the front, puts his notebook on the front table, opens it, turns to erase the board, rolls up the map if it's down, puts the table chair over in a corner out of the way (he stands at the table instead of sits -- sometimes he puts his leg on the table and then leans on it as a prop), and then finally, he looks at us with a sort of amused look like by this time we should have our notebooks ready and be quiet.

In these courses, students and instructors coordinate their behaviors and, for the most part, engage in a single focused activity.

In some courses, the event structure was so consistent from day to day that it was highly predictable, while in other courses there was much variability. The modal course with its content lecture, whole group structure, standard classroom setting, information disseminator instructor and requirement meeter students was most likely to have a predictable event structure.

The temporal dimensions of information transfer courses seemed consistent with the social and temporal dimensions and was especially appropriate to the motivational orientations of students and instructors. The 50 minute time span three times a week helped to make the transfer of information from instructor to student more manageable. The regularity and clarity of the event structure helped to insure that the instructor succeeded in communicating the knowledge he valued and that the students were able to meet rather predictable requirements. The uniformity of structuring for all participants seemed to reflect the single focus and whole group participant structuring of the setting as well as the relative uniformity of expectations.

Reading and writing activities associated with the note-giving and note-taking of instructors and students are made easier by the regularity of the structure. At the same time, written language is used as an important source of transition cues for the event structure itself.

Basic Language Skills Courses

Language (and some math) skills courses often meet more often than information transfer courses, perhaps four or five times per week. In addition, some skills-oriented courses also have longer sessions. One developmental English course met for two hours daily and one intensive English course met daily for three hours.

In basic language skills there was often more than one event occurring simultaneously. The instructor might conduct a text-dependent drill with one group while a second group did a guided workbook activity with a tutor and other students worked individually or in small groups on work sheets. Some basic skills courses began with a whole group activity - an anecdotal lecture or a drill. Then the class broke into multiple events.

In these classes with their simultaneous events, transitions were also less clearly marked. The opening and closing comments of one day's fieldnotes in basic skills class exemplifies this:

> Before class a tutor was already working with Sam trying to teach him to say the initial 'y' sound in English. A second student joined them. Another tutor was leading a conversation with the group of Chicano women. The instructor walked in and...
>
> ... The instructor was moving about the room, several students were working together. Then we were getting toward the end of the hour and people one-by-one began to leave and move out the door.

The multiple events variability of the temporal dimensions in basic language skills courses seems consistent with the subgroup participant structuring and multiple foci of the physical setting. All these aspects of the context indicate the student-centeredness of these classrooms. All students are obliged to participate and are constantly supervised, as might be expected in a course where instructors are interested in socializing students, and students are dependent on instructors to tell them what and how to learn. The variability reinforces the dependent position of students since they cannot predict what will happen during class. The longer, more frequent sessions indicate this need for supervision as well as an emphasis on practicing appropriate classroom behaviors.

In contrast to the information transfer course, the reading and writing is not aided by a clear and regular event structure but relies more heavily on instructor directions. Neither do reading and writing become used as consistent cues to that structure.

Vocational Lab Courses

In our data one occupational lab course (Office Machines) met for two hours twice a week and another - (Automotives) - met for five hours once a week. Two transfer lab courses (Microbiology and Experimental Psychology) required two-hour lab sessions once a week in addition to the 50 minute sessions.

In lab sessions with the work group structures, there was one event - the lab - but this was a complex event with many events embedded within it. The nature of these embedded events would vary for each individual or at least each group in the lab. In addition, there was much variability in event structures from day-to-day. Beginnings and endings were often vague and drawn out. Since activities were individual and task-dependent, students did not start and stop together.

In Office Machines, for example:

> Since the room was available to them at 7:00 A.M. every day, some students, particularly Laura, would

> arrive then, an hour before class to begin working. There were always four or five students already working before class began at 8:00 A.M. The end of class was fuzzy because five or six students would usually stay since the room was available to 5 P.M. Class could officially be considered over when Miss Krono left the room for her next class which began at 10:00.

In Microbiology and Automotives, students started together but could leave when they were finished with tasks. Psychology labs were often explained during class session. Students were free to do assignments whenever they wished.

Continuity with the Rest of the Day

Individuals in all three of the course types we have described came together for a course session but seldom saw each other outside of class. In fact, there was little continuity of any kind between the class session and any other event in the individual's day. Typically, the students came to the campus for several course sessions and then left quickly to meet work and home responsibilities (McClusky, 1970). They did not usually encounter the same students, instructor, physical setting or content in more than one part of their day. Whenever continuity did exist, however, it seemed to be associated with differences in attitude toward the class and the other participants.

Students in basic language skills courses did little, if any, course related study outside of class. Students in information transfer courses did engage in some out-of-class events - reading the textbook, filling out study guides, and studying for tests but for most students these events occurred sporadically - usually before tests.

Some courses did require more regular out-of-class time. These were skill-related courses - English composition courses and college level mathematics courses where daily assignments were generally given. In vocational lab courses, many students did use out-of-class time to practice skills and keep up with assigned tasks.

Whenever students saw the same individuals in more than one class, they were more likely to talk with them, share opinions and ideas about coursework. If they took more than one course from the same instructor, both instructor and student were more likely to initiate interaction with each other. In addition, students with prior experience with their instructors became valued resources to the rest of the class.

Courses with labs automatically provide two separate contexts for student-student and student-instructor interaction. Lecture courses with labs, those with long sessions, or those that are part of a block of courses provide a context for interaction which we called "captured time". The brief time between lecture and lab, the break in the middle of a long session, or the time between block courses became opportunities for informal interaction among students and between students and instructor. The regular before and after class phases also provided this same opportunity but whenever "captured time" was also a part of course event structure, interaction developed faster and to a greater extent.

Two examples from our data illustrate how different the college experience can be for students when there is continuity of students, instructors, content, or physical setting. These involve the students in the basic skills blocks and the nursing students in the microbiology course.

The basic skills students saw the same students in each of the three courses in their block as well as the tutoring sessions and the captured time between sessions. Instructors from one course in the block interacted with instructors in other blocks, sometimes referred to each other's content and visited each other's courses so students might see the counseling instructor in their math course or hear the English leader talk about their reading lessons. These students also had a regular area in the student union, as well as the learning assistance center, where they could usually find classmates.

The nursing students also generally took several courses together with some students and shared captured time between classes and before labs. They encountered the same instructors in several courses, and there was a regular place for them - a lounge - near most of the nursing classrooms. Because they faced many of the same demands, long term study groups developed.

There may have been other instances like these at the college, but our data would indicate that they are unusual and certainly not the modal experience for students. Our data would also indicate that where these continuities existed, they were associated with more student networking, more interaction with instructors and more involvement in both the course and the campus.

Semester Event Structure

Sometimes a patterning of event structures could be observed over the course of the semester. There appeared to be broad phases in the semester in terms of events and event structures. Although the nature and timing of these phases varied from course to course, the majority of the courses we observed seemed to report changes in event structures at about 4-6 weeks in the semester and some indicated another in about the 10th week. The first change was sometimes associated with the first test but not always. When first tests did come, they were associated with changes in student attitudes, participation styles, and study strategies.

Although not always associated with a test, this 4-6 week period was often the point when instructors began to "get tough" with students. Many students crystallized attitudes toward courses at this point. In automotives, the instructor mentioned for the first time in the 6th week that a test would be given and that specific work on the carburetor must be completed for a grade. In English 101, the instructor suddenly collected back assignments, gave F's to students who did not have them and lectured students on self-discipline. In office machines, the participant observer commented that in the fourth week, the instructor began telling students they were falling behind and became much more critical. In the psychology 290 course, the instructor, who had previously provided only informal feedback on assignments, suddenly and angrily returned lab reports with 0 grades to be redone. He dismissed the class early after a speech the participant observer called the "independence lecture" because of its content and its effect on the students.

Although not always associated with an angry lecture, the instructors often did change their routine at about 4-6 weeks. For example, the psychology 290 course introduced more group projects, and the ESL block dropped a highly structured oral drill in favor of more flexible guided workbook events. The block II English replaced a composition event with a dictation event, and the block I and block II reading introduced events with whole group structure. English 91-101 moved from drill to discussion events and English 102 from lecture to discussion events. In American history, it was in the fourth week that students began to adopt a "worksheet" strategy. Instead of listening to instructor lectures, students from then on routinely brought study sheets and textbooks to class and filled them out.

This first 4-6 weeks (1/3) of the semester might be seen as a definition phase during which routines and attitudes are being formed by constitutive work of students and instructors. After this, a "fixing" or "jelling" of expectations and strategies may occur. One might expect that if an unusually disruptive event occurred during the definition phase, it would have serious consequences. We have two instances of this. In the English 102 course, there was a "class revolt" in the second week regarding the nature of the instructor quizzes, and in the intensive ESL course there was a confrontation about a particular drill method being used. In the English 102 course, it appears that negative attitudes intensified from this point and students began dropping out. By the end, 65% of the students had dropped. In ESL, the controversy dragged on for four weeks when a change was finally made.

Some courses, especially transfer lecture courses, reported another change in about the 9-11th week. This may have been related to the 45th day, the point at which class counts are taken for funding purposes. After this day, drops in attendance would not be reflected in FTSE statistics. The change noted at this time was toward a phase of heavy demand. The pressure of end-of-semester, more assignments due and heavier content in lectures made this a time of stress for students. On the other hand, because some discontented students may drop at this time, there was sometimes a reduction of conflict, as was the case in the introductory nutrition course. The demand phase was sometimes associated with increased interaction among students and adoption of more varied and complex study strategies.

We have been able to suggest a three-part structure to the semester - a definition phase, a middle phase and a demand phase and have reported some indications of more complex structures. This structuring seems to be associated with changes in classroom events as well as participants' strategies and attitudes. We feel that the subject of semester event structure is an important one worthy of more focused attention in future research.

We have now discussed the social, physical, and temporal characteristics of classroom events. Table 9.4 summarizes this information for the three course types, which we have associated with three varieties of literacy.

Participation Styles in Classroom Events

To continue the description of the classroom events which provide the context for literacy, we turn now to a focus on the verbal and non-verbal behaviors of the instructors and students. These behaviors will be described in terms of participation styles, defined as the operational and structural characteristics of an individual's goal-directed actions within a specific classroom event.

Participation style, as defined here, is central to our discussion of literacy since it entails reference to specific behaviors including reading and writing as well as to motivational orientations and contexts. In this section, then, we return to a consideration of information about reading and writing presented in Chapter 6, but see these operations in a new way because these are embedded within goal-directed styles of participation.

This notion of participation style is useful in characterizing events as a whole but also in describing individual variation within the event. Since participation style is related to both goal and context, a given student may have different styles on different events and many change style within the same event if goals and motivations change. Individuals adopt a style of participation related to their motivational orientation and to their perception of the physical, temporal, and social dimensions of the events. At the same time, these individual participation styles actively contribute to establish, maintain, and modify the identity of the event itself. In describing participation styles, we complete our description of the three varieties of literacy we observed in classrooms.

Participation Styles in Information Transfer Courses

First, we consider the participation styles of instructors and modal students in the information transfer courses associated with the dominant variety of classroom literacy. Each of the major events of these courses is considered separately.

Table 9.4

Social, Physical, and Temporal Aspects of Course Events Associated with Three Varieties of Literacy

	Dominant Variety of Literacy	Contrasting Varieties of Literacy	
	In Information Transfer Courses	In Basic Language Skills Courses	In Vocational Lab Courses
Social Context (Participant Structure)	Whole Group Structure - Lecture Variant (limited or choral student speaking which is voluntary	Instructional Subgroup Structure (including Drill Variant student speaking required)	Whole Group Structure - Monolog Variant (no student speaking) Work Group Structure
Physical Context	Front (instructor) oriented Regularly spaced, fixed seating pattern	Student oriented Clustered seating by attributes of students	Activity (equipment) oriented Irregular, changing seating patterns
Temporal Context (Event Structure)	One dominant event with minor introductory and closing events Regular & definite transitions between events	Several simultaneous and sequential events Irregular and ragged transitions between events	One dominant event with embedded events Task-determined transitions

Content Lecture

In the content lectures, the instructors, as knowledge brokers utilize a participation style which might be called information disseminator, while the modal students, as requirement meeters, serve as attentive audience.

Information Disseminator. The instructors carry out predictable activities during the content lecture. The components of their teaching style include proxemic, verbal and interaction characteristics.

Proxemics. Instructors enter the classroom at exactly the class starting time and go through a series of "rituals" that signify the beginning of class. As they lecture, information disseminators generally have a "favorite spot" or resting place from which they circumscribe a relatively small area in the front of the classroom as they move to the podium and to the blackboard. Information disseminators refer to their lecture notes and write almost continually as they speak, usually on a blackboard but sometimes on an overhead projector.

These proxemic characteristics of style seem consistent with the physical setting of the classroom and with the whole group participant structure. They emphasize the instructor as the focus of the event and facilitate his presentation of information.

Verbal Presentation. Repetition and paraphrasing are used liberally by these instructors as well as prosadic cues to importance. These instructors may slow down, increase their volume, lower their pitch, and pause when key information is presented, especially definitions. These instructors usually provide clear transitions between points and summarize frequently. Often, a regular pattern can be observed in the lecture presentation.

Most information disseminators, used much paraphrasing of main ideas. The experimental psychology instructor's usual pattern was three repetitions of a key concept, but there could be more. Consider the paraphrased repetitions in his presentation of a basic scientific assumption - that of an orderly universe:

> The assumptions of the scientific method are first of all order and by this assumption you are assuming that the world is not a haphazard sequence of events but things occur in regular sequence. In other words, things don't just haphazardly happen or happen at random. There is a pattern to the phenomenon you're investigating regardless of what it is. If this wasn't true then there would be no need for science. If things could occur just always occur at random without any pattern or in any order, then there wouldn't ever be a science. We could never discover that pattern. Obviously, you have to assume that there is order to the universe to have a science. The second assumption...

All of these verbal characteristics are consistent with the attempt to accurately transmit information to the attentive audience as is the interaction style to be described next.

Interaction Style. Information disseminators actions serve to strengthen one-way communication from instructors to students. The instructors give only general eye contact to the class, sometimes panning the group or focusing on a spot just above or between heads, but not actually meeting any individual's glance. They may ask for questions at transition points in the lecture but may refuse to acknowledge a would-be questioner until such an appropriate time. Information disseminators do not encourage student questioning during a lecture. Often, they pause only briefly when asking for questions and do not look around the room for raised hands. When a question is asked, they give brief and concise answers that leave little room for further inquiry.

Students seemed to recognize this aspect of instructor style and to accept it because there was so much material to "get through". One student in microbiology commented:

> Sometimes she ignores me. She'll see my hand up and ignore it. Maybe she doesn't have the time - maybe she has something real important to say... You can't have everything. At the University you're never going to ask a question.

Information disseminators seldom attempt to reprimand students who sleep, do other work, or talk during the lecture. They usually lecture right up until the last minute of the class session and end their lecture rather abruptly. They will answer student questions after class but rather briefly.

Applying our definition of literacy to this situation, we can say that literacy for these instructors consists of the use of reading notes and writing on a blackboard in the service of information dissemination within a content lecture event.

Student Styles

The description of student styles in the content lecture is more complicated because within any one class there is inevitably a variety of student participation styles. In general, these differences in styles seem to involve the extent of voluntary verbal participation and the degree of engagement in focused classroom activity. We could distinguish four general variants of participant style. Two variants involve voluntary verbal participation and two do not:

A. Voluntary Verbal Participation with Instructor

1. Active Participants

   Engage in voluntary verbal and nonverbal communication with the instructor consistently at appropriate points in the event. Perform more than is required of the modal action associated with focused class activity (such as notetaking during lectures).

2. Passive Participants

   Selectively engage in voluntary verbal communication with the instructor at appropriate points. Consistently communicate nonverbally with the instructor. Selectively perform the modal actions associated with the focused class activity.

B. No Voluntary Verbal Participation with Instructor

1. Active Non-Participants

   Do not verbally or nonverbally interact with the instructor voluntarily but at least minimally perform modal actions associated with focused class activity.

2. Passive Non-Participants

   Do not verbally or nonverbally interact with the instructor voluntarily. Do not consistently perform the modal actions associated with focused class activity. May initiate nonfocused activity.

These four variant types represent points on a continuum rather than discrete categories but their indentifiable characteristics are described in Table 9.5 which follows:

Table 9.5

Characteristics of Four Types of Student Participation Style in Information Transfer Courses

	Voluntary speaking to instructor	Nonverbal communication with instructor	Attention to focused activity	Modal actions for focused activity (i.e. notetaking)
Active participation	consistent	consistent	consistent	more than required
Passive participation	selective	consistent	consistent	selective
Active participation	-	-	selective	minimal
Passive Non participation	-	-	selective	inadequate

These types of participation styles are also distinguished in terms of their relationship to the unfocused interactions in the classroom. Overall, the relationship between style type and involvement is reversed, with the active participants in the focused participation, least active in the unfocused activity, and the inattentive non-participants most likely to be attentive to and involved in unfocused activity.

In the information transfer classrooms we observed, the modal student, or requirement meeter, was an active-nonparticipant while a minority of knowledge seekers or information users were active and passive participants. Another minority were passive non-participants who appeared to have little or no course-related motivation for participation.

Attentive Audience

During the content lecture event, the requirement meeters as active non-participants, act as an attentive audience. They sit scattered throughout the classroom but usually not in direct eye contact with the instructor. They respond to the instructor's ritual start by opening their notebooks, picking up pens, ceasing talk and looking toward the instructor. However, they maintain a relaxed position and give little obvious nonverbal feedback to the instructor. They appear to be listening but take notes only when the instructor writes on the board or uses the most obvious prosadic cues. Their notes are brief and generally are a verbatim reproduction of the instructor's blackboard writings.

Notetaking is the reading-writing behavior characteristic of students in a content lecture. When students were asked the open-ended question, "What do you do in class?" they immediately mentioned notetaking. Students reported a number of reasons for notetaking. Some were making a record for use in studying for a test or as a guide to help in reading the text. Some were just using the notetaking activity to help them pay attention and to keep from getting bored. Some simply said they took notes because the students around them did, and others admitted they had never thought about it. Notetaking was just what one did during a lecture.

Students in the attentive audience might make an occasional comment to a neighboring student and seem to be influenced by what other students near them are doing. They often maintain similar postures, shift posture and take notes almost simultaneously. The attentive audience never voluntarily asks questions or answers instructors' questions and, at the close of the lecture, they leave quickly.

The Responding Audience

The active participants and passive participants in the classroom, who have the motivational orientations of knowledge seekers and information users, are always in a minority. They represent the responding audience for the instructor's lecture. They provide nonverbal communication continually to the lecturer and take many more notes. The active participants sitting in front of the room will ask and answer questions although most questions are simply requests for repetition or clarification of content or assignments. The passive participants, often sitting on the periphery of the classroom, also provide feedback, take notes and speak voluntarily but more selectively. They are the students who seem to be most aware of both focused and unfocused activity in the classroom. For this reason, they were especially valuable key informants for us as researchers.

This responding audience seems to fulfill a necessary function for the class. If the lecture is considered as a form of dialogue between instructor and class, it is these students who maintain the classes' side of the dialogue. In a sense, the instructor is speaking with them while the rest of the class watches. They become part of the show for the attentive audience. If there were no responding audience, one wonders whether the content lecture, as it is, could be maintained.

Usually in a content lecture a few passive non-participants are also present who could not be considered to be part of either the responding or attentive audiences. Usually sitting on the fringes, however, their behavior is tolerated because it does not interfere with the class activity.

The use of reading and writing by these students is consistent with their participation styles. The modal student reads the board and writes notes in a notebook in order to play the role of attentive audience in the event and to meet course requirements by getting the information necessary for the test. The small number of students in the responding audience, on the other hand, use reading and writing more elaborately. As they listen to the instructor's lecture, they may refer to a textbook or their notes as well as the blackboard. When they take notes, they often attempt to restructure and rewrite board notes in their own way. Because these few students usually read the relevant sections of the textbook before a lecture, they are the ones who are prepared to answer and ask the instructor questions. This responding audience is using reading and writing to facilitate the acquisition of information they find interesting and valuable. The knowledge seekers, in particular, enjoy the process of learning itself and so may gain satisfaction from carrying out these student reading and writing activities for their own sake.

The participant observer in economics 201 composed a narrative of a typical class session as it might be described by a member of the attentive audience. This excerpt from that account provides a good illustration of instructor and student styles in a content lecture.

> He always starts off his lecture by reviewing what we just discussed the class before. You know, he'll say something like, "Well, last time we were talking about the Keynesian Theory and today we'll want to compare this with the Classical Theory." Sometimes this is a little confusing if you're trying to take notes on what he says, but that doesn't usually really matter so much because, like me, most students just put into their notes what the instructor writes on the board anyhow. He uses the board a lot to put all his main points on and to go over diagrams, so if you just write down what he puts on the board and maybe add a few remarks he makes in the margins, you have good notes.

> Once he starts lecturing he mostly goes right on through the class period. He knows a lot, a lot more than us, about economics and he always tries to give us good information on the topic. Usually a few students in every class will ask him some questions. Mostly they ask him about something on the board or from the text. The instructor answers all questions but he usually doesn't spend much time. I mean, he's got a lot of material to get us through in just a semester.
>
> So, anyway, that's what usually happens in a class--instructor lectures, we listen and take notes and some of us answer questions or ask them. One or two students in the back of the room I've noticed sleep through most of the class, but the instructor never says anything.

Other Lecture Events

If information disseminators move from a content lecture event to a more anecdotal lecture event, they modify their style and may take on the aspect of an entertainer or even a preacher. They usually move away from the blackboard and podium toward the students and look more directly at the class. The prosadic characteristics of their speech may change and humor may be introduced.

The instructor in the general business course, for example, changed from his clear, emphatic and rather authoritative content-lecture delivery to a "story-mode". His voice dropped quite low in intonation and was relatively clipped and quick-paced. Story mode seemed to serve various functions for the instructor in the classroom. Stories or anecdotal lectures were often told to illustrate the lecture content. Another function of anecdotal lectures was to ease anxiety and to generally establish rapport with the class. In addition, often a story was told by the instructor as a sort of indirect response to potentially negative or unwanted classroom behavior such as a late entry, early departure, or unwanted discussion from a class member. Overall, anecdotal lectures seemed to facilitate the information dissemination style of the instructors. The shifting between lecture and story modes tends to keep them talking and the student listening.

Actually, there seem to be levels of anecdotal lecture events depending on how directly they relate to the course content. These levels are associated with variations in the listening behavior of the attentive audience. In the most related anecdotes the students sit back in their seats and stop taking notes, but they still hold their pens in their hands and look intently at the instructor, often offering more nonverbal feedback than in the content lectures. When anecdotes are less related they put down pens, shift into very relaxed positions and may look around the room or talk with neighbors.

The information disseminator may also use an audio-visual lecture event. Usually during this event, the instructor changes his position and stands in the student portion of the classroom, facing with them toward the front of the room as he and the students look at the audio-visual displays. He does no writing and speaks in a less highly cued fashion. The style of this lecture is somewhat in between that of the anecdotal and content lecture in terms of its formality and prosadic characteristics.

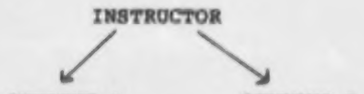
The students maintain a relaxed position like that of the anecdotal lecture and usually take no notes, especially since the lights in the classroom are often turned down. They regard the audio-visual lecture in a casual manner and in interviews often spoke of these events as minimally useful to their classroom experience. In Microbiology, for example, most students did not take notes on the overhead transparencies. They looked at the screen and their own handouts, but did not write on their copies. One student explained, "If it's too hard for her to draw on the board, we won't have it on a test."

Audio-visual lectures in American history present an extreme case of student inattention:

> He puts a transparency on the overhead at about 10:30. Clare gets up to turn off the light. The instructor is barely audible now in the back of the room. His voice has to compete with the fan motor on the projector, the air conditioner and a movie in the next room. One row up and two rows over, Jean and Mary seize the opportunity and begin an animated conversation. The instructor puts on another transparency at 10:40. Five heads are down on desks, presumably asleep. At 10:42, the first of five students to eventually leave the lecture walks out. Clare pokes me in the arm and points to sleepy Don, two people up from me. His head is bobbing dangerously backwards and forwards. At one point he comes so far back that his head almost falls on Theresa's books. Clare, John, Betty, Theresa, and I are all watching him intently to see which way he'll fall. Even Michele comes out of her novel to watch. Finally, his head plops down on his own desk with a small thud - out for the count. We all chuckle. Michele returns to her novel and the rest return to their work sheets. The room is still dark at 10:50 and the instructor is on his third or fourth transparency.

When audio-visuals presentations were utilized without instructor lecturing, student participant styles were similar. Since the general content was repetitive of lectures already given, the audio-visuals seemed to serve a supplementary or illustrative purpose. Students saw the films simply as a way of varying the class sessions. The use of audio-visual forms of presentation may have had a secondary social function. They may have softened the information giver/receiver relationship of teacher and student. The instructor would often sit with the students during the presentation and afterwards she or he could talk with them as a fellow information receiver, sharing reactions and interpretations.

Because instructors had the motivational orientation of knowledge brokers and the students that of requirement meeters, large group discussions were "discussions" only in outward form. Although these events were referred to as discussions by participants, the speech was still highly structured. The instructor served as a controller of speech. Very little direct student-to-student talk occurred; most went through the instructor. The flow of speech in the large group discussion usually resembled a triangle. One student never communicated directly with another. All communications flowed exclusively through the instructor. For example, if the instructor asked a question, student A would respond. The instructor then responded in a positive, negative or neutral manner to the student's answer. If student B wished to respond to the instructor's judgmental approach, he or she did this by waiting for the instructor's recognition and then responding. More, importantly, if student B wished to respond to student A he or she did so through and only through the instructor.



In addition, very few students usually participated in discussions, a fact which further qualifies the use of the term "group discussions" to describe these events. The model participant style during this event was that of relaxed audience very similar to the style associated with the audio-visual lecture or the anecdotal lecture. Most students sit back, casually follow the flow of activity but take no notes. The active participants, on the other hand, become speakers and part of the performance for the attentive audience.

The move away from the content lecture to one of these alternative events produced changes in the participation style of requirement meeter students and, interestingly, meant a drop in the use of reading and writing. These were not "literacy events" for most students.

In two other less frequent events written language played an interesting role. *The text-dependent discussion* was similar to the large group discussion except that it took on more of an adversary quality. The most common example of this was a test review discussion in which students would try to support their answers to a test question by reference to textbook and lecture notes. The instructor would defend the designated correct answer. As the adversaries argued their points, the rest of the class would listen attentively. It is interesting to note that in the classes in which this event was observed, they became rather unpleasant events for students and instructors. In several instances, instructors reacted negatively to the emotional overtones of these events and eventually dropped or reduced the incidence of this event in their course.

Another rather unique event used by an information disseminator is the *text-dependent lecture*. During this event, the instructor brings the textbook or other written materials to the class, encourages students to open the texts with him and follow as he guides them through the material. In business statistics, for example, the instructor would take the students through one or more chapters of the textbook, pointing out items that were particularly significant in terms of preparing for examinations. He also would point out sections of the chapter(s) and, particularly, exercises that could be omitted because the instructor was not going to "hold the class responsible" for the concepts on problem types. The students, making brief notations in their textbooks as the instructor pointed things out, were generally attentive. Even students who seldom referred to the textbook outside of class told me that they followed along as the instructor "walked" them through the chapters.

For our study of literacy, this was a most intriguing event in terms of its mixture of written and oral forms of information presentation. On the one hand, the text provides a written reference to the content of the instructor's oral presentation which helps the students follow and later recall the lecture. On the other, the instructor's oral presentation provides an explicit guide to the written content of the textbook as he interprets to the students the important points and details of each section of the book as he proceeds through it. The instructor becomes a guide to written materials as well as something of a model on how to read a textbook.

As mentioned previously, some course-related events occurred outside of class for students in information transfer courses. In these events, the students, working alone, relied heavily on written language though recalling the oral cues to importance given by instructors during class sessions. When students initially read their textbooks, they often texted them in a casual fashion to get an overall feel for the chapters or sometimes just to get through them. When they studied for tests, they used notes, handouts, and textbooks in a bitting fashion in order to prepare to recognize bits of information for the multiple choice tests.

Language Skills Courses

Instructors in language courses with their socializer orientations, took on the style of directors when they entered into drill events characteristic of these courses. The students, as nonspecific-information, users were obligatory respondents.

During the *guided workbook activity*, for example, the instructor would briefly introduce the skill to be practiced and then call on various students to read introductory materials, examples and problems from the class' workbook. After a student spoke, the instructor would repeat and evaluate, sometimes writing the correct response on the blackboard. Although the instructor might call for a voluntary response at the beginning of the event, he/she would eventually begin to call on all members of the group. The instructor might stand at the front of the group but would be more careful to have eye contact with each member of the group, perhaps walking among them, sitting close to them, or directing a specific glance toward each member. Instructors were often aware of the verbal and nonverbal behavior of each group member and observed whether they wrote in their workbooks at appropriate times.

During this event, the students as obligatory participants followed in their workbooks as the instructor and the other students spoke. When answers were given and evaluated by the instructor, the students would transcribe or copy these into their own workbooks. Students had to follow carefully the verbal interchange in this activity not only to be able to write correct answers in their books but also to be able to respond appropriately when their turn came.

A text-dependent drill was very similar to the guided workbook activity, except that no written response was required of the students. Their attention to reading, listening and oral responding was more focused. On the other hand, during a written response drill, students were not required to read or speak. They would listen to an instructor's question and write their answer on a paper. This, however, was not a common event and was, in fact, found in only three of our sample of courses, all of which, interestingly enough, were English courses. A dictation event also required only listening and writing from the students but, of course, in this case their written response must be an exact reproduction across modalities. Again, this was not a common activity and was found only in basic language skills courses and in the occupational office machines course. Oral drills, found only in the English as a second language courses, required the use of oral language interchanges between the students and the instructor, usually very rapid and repetitive requiring close attention by all participants. The observation drill was often more relaxed. It occurred during English as a second language courses and some occupational lab courses. It required that students and instructors together observe pictures or concrete objects and talk about these visual displays. This event might require more expanded use of language on the part of the students, though always tightly structured by the instructor.

Independent workbook events, during which students completed worksheets and workbook pages were still social events since students sat in groups and interacted with each other and with a tutor. Though they were not so much obligatory respondents, tutors did initiate and structure much of the interaction that occurred during this time.

The small group discussions that occur in basic language skills courses were somewhat different from the large group discussion event described for the information transfer course. Here the instructors' style follows from their teaching orientation as socializers and their greater emphasis on affective objectives. In the developmental English course, for example, the instructor regularly engaged students in group discussions, telling them the activity would help them become more "considerate" and "tolerant" and "responsible" - all aspects of her overall objective of developing character. On one occasion, when the students did not stay on topic and could not express clear opinions, the instructor gave the class a lecture on "civic responsibility".

Students in developmental courses were aware of the affective objectives behind discussion activities and some seemed to accept this purpose as legitimate. Some became active participants and even took on the role of speech controller to keep the discussions going. Others, perhaps because of their learning orientations as non-specific information users, did not value these group discussions and participated only as much as required.

Vocational Lab Courses

In vocational lab courses, the instructor's style changed rather dramatically. With the motivational orientation of a guide, he/she would become a resource for the students who, with learner orientations of information users, became, in this lab context, "workers". As the instructor in office machines said, "Remember, girls, this is a job. Your pay is the skill you take home." Circulating throughout the classroom, the instructor would respond to students' needs, answer questions, demonstrate, explain, perhaps question the students themselves, and evaluate their performance. Rather than following a set, preplanned agenda, activities were more spontaneous, responding to the specific needs of the students. In their interactions with students, they emphasized not only skills and knowledge related to the activity at hand, but also attitudes and more general sociocultural competencies associated with the work environment simulated.

During *lab events*, the instructors with their guide orientations were always ready to perform multiple roles as needed. In addition, instructors in labs were often described as more friendly and approachable by students. In microbiology, the instructor's style in lab differed from her style in lecture. She was constantly on the move throughout the room, demonstrating how to use the equipment and helping students with their questions. The instructor seemed more at ease in the lab and the students also noticed a difference. One student said, "She seems different in lab. She walks around the room and looks in almost everybody's microscope. She's interested and answers questions. In some ways, she relates better to students in lab." Another commented, "She's a little more laid-back and more easy. I guess that's because she's working more with students. She's more loose."

The instructor in the office machines lab had a very direct, straightforward style. Her teaching style was one of complete accessibility to students at all times. She was primarily called on to demonstrate and explain the machines and help them problem-solve for themselves. In automotives the instructor also assumed an advisor role. He was there to answer questions and to provide assistance with special problems students might have. If there were no questions, he wouldn't demand anything of anyone until it was time for him to check their work for credit. Most of his advice was in the form of demonstration. He would work right with the person in solving the problem.

In lab events students as "workers" were expected to take on much responsibility themselves. In the automotive course, for example, the responsibility was there for the members of the class to take up: assignments were vague but implied, evaluations passive but watchful. The experimental psychology instructor also emphasized "independence" in student styles. As one student commented, "I realized that the teacher, although an extremely nice, fun guy, is determined to make the students do everything themselves, including trying to figure out what he wants."

In occupational lab courses this responsible worker role fits the information user orientation of students. In the automotives course the participant observer observed that everybody enjoyed working on cars, and that motivation was not really a problem. There was pride in workmanship, and a striving to really know about what they were working on. They enjoyed the ample time provided to work on the cars as well as the facilities within which to work. They had a great deal of respect for the instructor's knowledge and enjoyed his attitude and treatment toward them. The students seemed to garner strength from being in this program and being able to escape to the solitude of the garage where they were treated fairly and were allowed to share their knowledge freely.

In the labs associated with transfer lecture courses where students were primarily requirement meeters, the worker role was less acceptable. In microbiology, for example, most students were taking the course because it was required in the nursing program. The labs did not deal with skills related to their goals. Very few, if any, had an interest in laboratory research. Because of this, the lab took on a different function. It served to illustrate the information presented in the lecture. Although students did "work" in groups on lab activities using the instructor as resource, their performance was not critical. Evaluation came from lab quizzes which relied on the instructor as information disseminator. The quizzes dealt with "bits" of information from the manual and demonstration lectures implicitly cued by the instructor.

In experimental psychology, students balked at the instructor's insistence on student independence. They seemed to find this expectation unfair.

> The instructor hasn't explained assignments thoroughly... I don't feel he taught us well. I really had to teach myself.

While information seekers seem to expect to "teach themselves", using the instructor as a resource, requirement meeters do not. They want an information disseminator who makes all assignments explicit and structures all activities for them. In the end, however, at least some students may change their attitudes and actually develop more of an information-user orientation as shown by the following quote from a student in the experimental psychology course:

> In this class I learned what it is to really dig in and research and write. In the process I've gotten a lot out of it - a knowledge of more than I was even working for, a sense of accomplishment by using my own brains instead of just being told everything to do - step-by-step. This was a very positive part of the class for me but hard to accept without complaining.

Student-to-student interaction becomes highly important during labs and is perhaps the most important student strategy for learning in this context. The participant observer in an office machines class categorized the types of interaction among students that occurred during the work group sessions. The first type of interaction was "showing how". Students serving as resources would operate or fix a machine in a demonstrative style or merely "check out" someone else's machine to find the problem. In "telling how" the resource person might explain a process rather than do it or offer an interpretation of either written instructions or the instructor's instructions. Students also used "monitoring" of other students' work. They watched while someone attempted to perform a task and caught them when they made a mistake. Sometimes they monitored verbally by asking a series of questions such as "Did you check the plug?" "Did you adjust the bottom dial?" More complex patterns of interaction were also observed such as explaining while demonstrating or explaining while watching someone else perform a task. Finally, in mutual monitoring, two students might go through a process simultaneously until their actions diverged. Then they would try to resolve their differences.

Other Events

Two other events were frequently associated with the vocational lab courses - the demonstration drill and the demonstration lecture. During the demonstration drill, students were required to manipulate some concrete objects or equipment for the instructor. They used written language only insofar as it helped them with this performance task. Such a demonstration drill was the basic form of evaluation in the automotive class.

> As far as evaluation is concerned, Mr. Knight has a checklist with everyone's name on it and columns running across the top indicating the work done. Everyone is responsible for one single-barrel, two two-barrels, two four-barrels, an idle adjustment by ear, and an idle adjustment with the infrared. This

> is a hell of a lot of work, and this includes finding the carburetor to use whether it means taking it off your own car during class or doing other peoples'. A carburetor is considered done when the things I have already mentioned have been done plus all of the external adjustments. These adjustments are described in various service manuals and on the specifications sheet included with the carburetor kit. Mr. Knight considers these adjustments of prime importance and is carefully monitoring each guy's work.

Because demonstration drills generally occur in a small work group setting, the other students would observe the demonstration of a single student. These drills often promoted student-student interaction, especially when the instructor was highly critical as was the instructor in the office machines course.

> The women are reticent, slightly intimidated and I feel it, too. Even as they do something very gingerly, she corrects, expands and repeats even the simplest things as opening the ditto to put the paper in, adjusting the pressure, putting the right amount of paper in. She means it to be educational; the women feel over-corrected. Edith is the last to go. She is so flustered that she puts the master on backwards; she does not fold it the way Miss Krono has told them to fold so that they don't get dirty. Edith gets very flustered. Miss Krono corrects her. She then is even more flustered. Stephanie begins to help her after she does it first. This makes Miss Krono very happy and she encourages it. She says, "Right, exactly, you learned a lot." This relieves Edith, too, because Stephanie helped her out of a bad situation.

During a demonstration lecture the instructor takes on the style of a "model" of appropriate skilled behavior. He/she usually uses little, if any, written language during this event. The students became "vicarious participants" who watch intently but generally do not ask questions or take notes.

In another event, the math procedures lecture associated with mathematics and statistics courses, students and instructors had participation styles similar to those in a demonstration lecture. For this reason, we came to view these courses as somewhat anomalous. The students, although requirement meeters, were being asked to learn a procedure rather than bits of information. During the lecture, they had to observe a set of steps that they could repeat for homework assignments and tests. Therefore, they took on a participant style somewhat reminiscent of the students in vocational lab courses. However, in other ways, they were still like the attentive and responding audience in the content lecture since they read the board, took verbatim notes, and since a few active participants occasionally asked questions. When they practice the procedures, however, they do so independently rather than in a lab setting and relied on notes and textbook examples without the aid of context and oral interaction with students and instructors.

Summary

In our study of Oakwood classrooms we were able to distinguish three varieties of literacy associated with three types of courses. Table 9.6 summarizes descriptions of these three varieties. Because we viewed literacy as situational and transactional, we have described not only reading and writing behavior but also the motivational orientations of students and instructors and the social, physical and temporal aspects of classroom events. Literacy, in our view, is not synonymous with reading and writing. It is the use of reading and writing in the service of a goal as part of the transactions of a specific context. In the

Table 9.6

Comparison of Three Varieties of Classroom Literacy in Terms of Features of Classroom Events

	Dominant Course Type	Specialized Course Types	
	I Information Transfer Courses	II Language Skills Courses	III Vocational Lab Courses
Reading & Writing Operations	Instructor Cues Bitting (as part of "paying attention", "taking notes" and "studying for a test.")	Instructor Cues Bitting Strongly (as part of "paying attention", "taking a turn", and "doing the workbook.")	Instructor: Guide (as part of "paying attention" and "doing the work")
Motivations	Instructor: Knowledge Broker (low-level cognitive objectives) Modal Student: Requirement Meeter (only grade or credit desired)	Instructor: Socializer (low-level cognitive objectives and affective objectives) Modal Student: Non-specific Information User (only vague idea of how information will be used and when objectives have been attained)	Instructor: Guide (low-level cognitive objectives and psychomotor objectives) Modal Student: Specific Information User (definite idea of how information will be used and when objectives have been attained)
Dominant Events*	Content Lecture Math Procedure Lecture	Guided Workbook Text Dependent Drill Large Group Discussion	Demonstration Lecture Audio-Visual Lecture Demonstration Drill Lab
Participant Structures	Whole Group Structure - Lecture Variant (limited or choral student speaking which is voluntary)	Whole Group Structure - Drill Variant (individually speaking by each student required) Instructional Subgroup Structure	Whole Group Structure - Monolog Variant (no student speaking) Work Group Structure
Physical Setting & Seating Patterns	Front (instructor) oriented Regularly spaced, fixed seating pattern	Student & tutor oriented Clustered seating by attributes of students	Activity (equipment) oriented Irregular, changing seating patterns
Event Structure	One dominant event with minor introductory and closing events Regular & definite transitions between events	Several simultaneous and sequential events Irregular and ragged transitions between events	One dominant events with embedded events Task-determined transitions
Participant Styles	Instructor: Information Disseminator Modal Student: Attentive Audience	Instructor: Director Modal Student: Obligatory Participant	Instructor: Resource/Modal Modal Student: Worker

*Dominant events were reported as frequent events by at least 25% of courses in the category.

classrooms we observed, these components of literacy seemed to vary in a systematic manner supporting a view of classrooms as systems of activity and literacy as a dynamic quality of those systems. As Hymes (1964) indicates "one way in which to indicate that there is a system, either in the community or in the particular event, is to observe that there is not complete freedom of a co-occurrence among components" (p. 18).

When we view literacy as a characteristic of an activity system rather than as a static trait of individuals, we are forced to abandon simplistic explanations for reported changes in literacy. A complex and interrelated array of factors account for the literacy we observed in classrooms, especially when classrooms are seen as micro contexts embedded in larger contexts of the college and community. Changes in any one aspect of the system might be expected to affect literacy but not without affecting the system as a whole. This view also suggests that attempts to change reading and writing behavior directly without attention to other components of literacy may be ineffective since people's use of reading and writing is determined by their motivational orientations and the characteristics of the contexts in which they live, work and learn.

ENDNOTES

1. Context is a complex and problematic concept. Some researchers want to ignore context (see Mishler, 1979), and others are simply concerned about context as a threat to external validity (see Koehler, 1981). Many are afraid that if the "door" to context is opened "everything in the universe will rush in" (Hymes, 1964, p. 350). For researchers in this camp, there is a clear distinction between human action and its context. However, recently, social constructionists suggest that contexts are constituted by what people are doing and where and when they are doing it (see Erickson & Shulty, 1981). Thus, contexts are not simply physical settings where participants interact. Instead, contexts are much more, consisting of mutually shared definitions of situations. Thus, contexts are constructed and in the process of being constructed, contexts influence but, at the same time, include what the actors actually do (Mehan, 1981).

   However, it is important to guard against using context as a catch-all construct. Failure to do so may lead context to become "an unexplicated dumping-ground" (Furlong & Edwards, 1977, p. 126). As Mishler (1979) so aptly puts the matter: "confronting the problem of context is like opening up Pandora's box" (p. 17). Our adoption of a transactional framework led us to consider context as a systematically derived aspect of activity (Meacham, 1954). Activity, considered in terms of specified units called events, is seen to have physical, temporal and social dimensions against which descriptions of specific operations like reading and writing can be foregrounded.

2. Other events were reported but less frequently, in less than one-third of the courses in any category. They can be described as follows: Audio-Visual Lecture - the instructor presents slides or a filmstrip as s/he speaks. Oral Drill - instructor calls on students to answer questions without reference to written materials. Written Response Drill - instructor asks questions which students answer in writing. Student Oral Presentation - an individual student presents a prepared talk to the class. Group Project - students interact with each other to produce a joint written product. Short Answer Test - students provide answers to written test items in the form of a phrase or sentence. Essay Test - students provide answers to written test questions in the form of an organized paragraph or paragraphs. Study Guide - students skim textbook, lecture notes, and handouts for answers to questions provided by the instructor. Text Questions - students compose essay-type answers to questions on textbook readings. Compositions - students compose written texts of several paragraphs on assigned topics. Journal - students compose written texts regularly in a notebook. Reading Report - students read a journal article and compose a summary of several paragraphs. Lab Report - students compose written reports of lab activities following a prescribed format. Research Paper - students compose a paper on a focused topic following a prescribed style and citing supporting written sources.

3. Philips (1972, p. 377-378) described four participant structures in elementary school classrooms. In the first, the teacher interacts with all the students as a group or individually in the presence of the rest. In the second type, the teacher interacts with only some of the students, as in a reading group, while the rest of the students work independently at their desks. A third structure consists of all students working independently at desks with the teacher available for one-to-one interaction. A fourth type, which was rare in Philip's data, occurred when students were divided into several groups to work on projects under the leadership of a student designated as "chairman".

4. Only four of the 27 courses we observed reported no frequent events with a whole group structure. Of the variants, the lecture was the most popular with 19 courses reporting it as frequent compared to 11 reporting the monolog, and 6 the choral response structure.

5. Out-of-class events were reported for most students in 14 courses.

6. Subgroup structures appear frequently in all but one (a counseling course) of the ten developmental courses observed. Of the whole group structures only the anecdotal lecture and whole group discussions were reported in these courses. Out-of-class or test events were frequent in only one of these courses, the transitional EN91-101 course.

7. Events with a drill structure were reported as frequent in all ten of the developmental courses but in only four of the 17 other courses observed.

8. We observed four courses that had lab experiences associated with them. Of these only two, Automotives 104 and Office Machines 205, were really vocational lab courses. The other two, Experimental Psychology 290 and Microbiology 203 represented a hybrid course type with some characteristics resembling the information transfer course and some the vocational lab course.

9. Cooper (1979) described the event structure of a typical class session in a college lecture classroom at Michigan State University. She identified four phases as preclass, warm-up, instruction, and wrap up. For each phase, Cooper described dominant events in terms of the verbal and nonverbal behavior of instructor and students as well as the subject matter emphasis. In addition, she paid special attention to the transitions between events.

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CHAPTER X

IMPLICATIONS, POLICY ALTERNATIVES AND RESEARCH ISSUES

As products of the 20th Century, community colleges have occupied a pivotal role in efforts to confer the assumed benefits of postsecondary education on all citizens without regard to such constraints as age, race, previous preparation, performance on standardized examinations or socioeconomic status. There have been at least two major assumptions behind these efforts. The first was that education was the means through which we could best pursue the ideal of a classless society through achieving an evolutionary redistribution of wealth by improving access to better paying jobs. The second was that increased education would bring the benefits traditionally, if somewhat inaccurately, associated with improvements in literacy including better citizenship, higher productivity and lower crime rates.

The evidence on a classless society remains unclear. However, scholars have suggested that, while education may contribute to some redistribution of individuals on the economic totem pole, in the short run, it does not increase the number of total positions available or reduce the gaps between those at the top and those at the bottom (Bowen, 1980). Complicating the picture of social and economic returns to higher education has been evidence of declining literacy among those attending colleges and universities and widely publicized criticism from employers and university faculty targeted on the ability of college students and college graduates to read and write.

The purpose of this research was to study the uses and functions of written language in a college setting in the hope of improving information available to those interested in interpreting the meaning of literacy in this context. A better understanding of college literacy is important to two audiences: those interested in constructing an accurate picture of literacy in a variety of societal settings and those concerned with a comprehensive view of the community college as an institution of higher education.

Defining Literacy

To study literacy, a definition of this complex concept is needed. In reviewing the literature, we found two contrasting views of literacy. First, there is a prototypical[1] conception which is evoked in the minds of most people when they hear the term. Prototypical literacy concerns the ability to comprehend independently and to compose connected discourse; usually it means the type of connected discourse associated with academic tasks. In this view, literacy is considered to be a stable trait of individuals which they "carry around" with them. Prototypical literacy has symbolic meanings associated with it because it is assumed that people who read and write well are also knowledgeable, intelligent, culturally refined and sometimes even morally worthy.

A second contrasting view of literacy which proved central to this study has been termed "transactional". The transactional view considers literacy not as an individual trait but rather as the product of interactions between individuals who use reading and writing to accomplish their goals in a specific context such as the workplace, the classroom, or the home. While the symbolic view of literacy seeks to evaluate individuals and make subsequent predictions about their potential for being productive in such settings as the classroom or the workplace, the transactional view of literacy is helpful in understanding the functions that reading and writing actually perform in social settings where these operations must be meshed with other factors such as time available and participant objectives to achieve a defined goal.

Typically, measures based upon the symbolic view of literacy are used to determine which individuals will be admitted to selective colleges and universities or given specific employment opportunities.

However, from the transactional perspective, the focus is on how and why individuals and groups use reading and writing to attain their goals.

This difference between literacy as a trait and literacy as grounded in a holistic context helps to explain why measures of symbolic literacy are ineffective predictors of the success of individuals either in the classroom or on the job. Individuals who achieve extremely high scores on standardized tests of reading and writing may fail dismally when they are required to use these skills in the classroom or on the job.

Many of the criticisms of our public schools and postsecondary institutions have been based on their failure to achieve improvements in the scores reported for their graduates on measures which reflect a symbolic view of literacy. The evidence for this criticism is narrow in two senses. First, it may not pertain to the types of reading and writing tasks which are most important to success outside of school. Second, it may wrongly assume that written language must be used to achieve the outcomes of education most important to the larger society.

This is not to say that public schools and colleges cannot or should not improve their teaching of prototypical reading and writing. Rather, it is to say that, given constrained resources in the form of time, staff, facilities and equipment along with expanded responsibilities in the form of more diverse clientele and multiplying objectives, something has to give.

The Oakwood Study

This study is about what gives in a community college setting. Most studies that have concerned themselves with changes in student literacy have used standardized tests without reference to the contextual settings of those tested. In contrast, we were concerned with naturalistic observations in a community college setting over an extended period of time. Specifically, we examined environmental influences, administrative behaviors, student services and classroom experiences over more than a three-year period on one campus of an urban, multi-college, community college district. We were interested not only in the ways that written language was used in the classroom setting or in providing services to students but also in the indirect influences on literacy of administrative priorities and the strategies used to achieve them.

To guard against some of the pitfalls of this type of research, including the tendency to see what you expect to see, we used a variety of perspectives in testing or verifying our observations. We also engaged more than 20 researchers from such diverse backgrounds as anthropology, psychology, reading, sociology, organizational analysis and English. None of our findings or conclusions rest upon the work of a single observer. Many have been extended through the use of discrete quantitative studies designed to validate or interpret inconsistent and conflicting observations.

The methodology of the study could have been employed just as easily in a public school, a four-year college or university, or a work setting. Indeed, we recommend that parts of the study be extended to improve our knowledge of how literacy functions in other educational settings. The decision to conduct the study in a community college proved in retrospect to have been an extremely fortunate one. Community colleges by their nature serve a cross-section of our society. Adult basic skills programs enroll students ranging from those who can neither read nor write English or any other language to those who might hope to read at the 8th grade level after one semester of remediation. Transfer and career courses enroll some students who are already graduates of four-year colleges and universities. Minority students served often exceed by two or three times their proportional representation in the classes of neighboring universities. In brief, the diversity of student characteristics and objectives reflect the larger community and in so doing provide a range of opportunities for study that could not have been duplicated in any other type of educational institution.

Overview of Chapter

This chapter provides a summary of our findings in three areas: administration, student services, and instruction. Following the summaries, we present implications in the form of grounded hypotheses which represent the most probable explanations for what we observed. To advance a particular explanation as "most probable" does not imply that we have established causal relationships between variables. Nor does it suggest any attempt to generalize our findings beyond the setting in which this research was conducted. We do present our best judgment of the implications of our research for policy makers, practitioners and the research community. The data we have analyzed suggest that future studies investigating the phenomena we have observed are most likely to achieve significant results if they focus in the areas identified.

The most important results of this study will be achieved only as the hypotheses we have identified are tested in other settings and the results used to alter or extend our understanding of how literacy functions in the community college setting and the implications of that knowledge for our understanding of literacy in the larger society.

Summary of Findings

During this study, Oakwood Community College moved through directed and non-directed change processes, to expand its educational missions and to increase the size and diversity of its student population. Though resisted by significant numbers of faculty and administrators, the changes had an impact on the educational program and the campus environment as a whole. Literacy within this institutional setting, took on a form which we called "instrumental bitting" because it involved the context-dependent use of bits of written language to accomplish specific objectives. Interestingly, this account of literacy at Oakwood is consistent with the literacy which has been described in other educational and work settings in our society. However, these findings contrast with the commonly held expectation that college literacy should involve the independent comprehension and composition of extended written discourse. To understand why the literacy we observed was different from popular conceptions of college literacy, we will need to examine in order: external influences, institutional responses, the college campus as it is experienced by students and the impact of those contextual variables on student and faculty behavior in the classroom setting.

The Institutional Context

For the Richfield District, financial constraints, first in the form of declining percentages of state support of the operating budget, and later, in the form of a legislatively mandated limit on increases in property taxes, were pervasive considerations in the decision making process.

In addition, a changing and more diverse student clientele attended partly in response to an administrative decision to engage in aggressive recruiting activities. This placed pressure on educational programs and services which had been designed to serve a clientele interested in earning a baccalaureate and from white, non-Hispanic backgrounds. By the time of the study, the modal student was an older woman taking one course and not interested in earning a degree. In addition, significant numbers of students were underprepared in terms of the literacy demands of the traditional programs and services.

District administrators both responded to and attempted to influence the environment within which their institutions functioned. Shortly before the study began, a new administration took office. The new leadership developed as its most important priorities for the educational program: recruiting and serving new clientele, improving student retention, strengthening programs in developmental education, and enhancing and increasing opportunities in occupational education.

Faculty members at Oakwood, were predominantly tenured and experienced. They identified strongly with their discipline and had come to the college with goals associated with a transfer-oriented "junior college" environment. Changes in students and program emphases were difficult for faculty members to accept and most remained uncommitted to the District priorities for change. Each of these priorities had important but largely unrecognized consequences for the types of reading and writing observed in classroom settings.

Recruiting and serving new clientele increased the diversity in student objectives and in reading and writing skills. With more diverse objectives came pressures for adaptations in classroom demands as faculty and students negotiated their expectations of each other. The wider range of reading and writing competencies led faculty to support alternatives to existing courses to maintain standards of performance. Despite the use of these alternatives, most faculty believed that students were less interested in course content and had declined in their abilities to read and write over a five-year period and that these declines had led to the adaptation of demands including the selection of less demanding texts and a reduction in the number of writing assignments.

The emphasis on retention and the maintenance of class attrition reports placed pressure on faculty to modify their expectations, especially in terms of reading and writing demands, to ensure an acceptable level of student success. The focus on developmental education assigned a priority to students who lacked the reading and writing skills essential to success in the traditional programs and explained the emphasis on basic language skills courses in our study. The importance assigned to this group because of administrative priority as well as the necessary practice of assigning college degree credit to basic literacy courses to keep students eligible for financial aid caused unrest among the faculty. On the one hand, they were pleased to have underprepared students screened from their classrooms. On the other, they believed the resources devoted to achieving administrative priorities for developmental education could have better been used in strengthening transfer or career programs. They also resented the assignment of degree credit to remedial work on the basis that this practice reduced the credibility of their degrees and other offerings.

Finally, the administrative emphasis on occupational education promoted the more functional task-specific form of literacy that we saw in vocational lab courses. The characteristics of faculty, however, helped to explain why this type of class was in the minority even among "vocational" courses.

The strategies used by administrators in achieving change had important implications for faculty commitment and ultimately for their willingness to contribute to achieving defined priorities. Initially, administrators were interested in moving what they regarded as a District "out of touch with the times" into the vanguard of the community college movement with all deliberate speed. To achieve priorities quickly, the radical strategies of reorganization, staffing changes and major shifts in resource allocations were employed. This produced significant change and high levels of conflict. As the study progressed, the pace of change was reduced by relying increasingly upon the more gradual and less conflict-prone strategies of planning, staff development, communication, and participation. Over the course of the study, significant change occurred in the direction of achieving administrative priorities, and conflict was reduced to manageable levels.

Concurrently, the priorities of attracting and serving new clientele and developmental education continued throughout the study to produce substantial levels of resistance from both faculty and administrators. Significantly, these were also the priorities that seemed to offer the greatest threat to continuing institutional emphasis on a prototypical form of college literacy. In the absence of resistance, a small group of committed faculty were able to implement change. Conversely, it was also possible for a small group of opposed faculty to block changes because the largest number of faculty remained uncommitted to administrative priorities. Uncommitted faculty were, however, sensitive to the concerns of their colleagues and resistant to changes that affected them directly.

Within this context, the impact of nontraditional students on programs and services was particularly helpful in understanding implications for literacy. In essence, nontraditional students created pressures for change because of needs and characteristics different from those around whom programs and services had been designed. Institutional inertia led initially to the development of alternative programs and services designed at least as much to limit the impact of nontraditional students on traditional programs and services as to respond effectively to a new clientele. Over time, the new programs and services competed for resources with their traditional counterparts. Concurrently, those employed to staff the new programs and services, because they came from backgrounds similar to the nontraditional students often became involved in decision making. Ultimately, the institution adapted but not always in directions preferred by administrators.

Literacy on the Campus

Oakwood produced 150 different printed documents for students' use. Some were designed to be read, such as brochures or handouts to inform students of college services like the learning assistance center or the veterans affairs office. Others such as the catalog and the schedule of classes provided information on college requirements and offerings. Approximately half were forms which required some reading and writing of information. Some forms were designed at a national level, such as the student financial aid form or applications for veterans benefits; others were designed by the college offices for their own record-keeping purposes including requests for transcripts and applications for tutorial assistance.

The level of involvement for any student with the paperwork system depended on the extent to which they took advantage of the resources available through the student services division. While some of these services were required by all students, most were optional. Generally, such tasks as filling out forms were not described as difficult by students. Where difficulties occurred, assistance was available if the student persisted.

The three major administrative tasks were: admissions, student financial aid, and registration. Although all students were not required to complete an application for financial aid, for students who required such assistance, this was the critical task. Reading and writing were core activities for major administrative tasks. However, listening and often speaking were frequently of equal significance. Speaking and listening became increasingly important as student uncertainty about the nature of the appropriate response became more pronounced. The technical directions on the financial aid application, for example, commonly left students uncertain about the requirements and, therefore, likely to ask questions to complete the task.

Students who sought assistance with administrative tasks or other institutional procedures were frequently referred to the college catalog. The catalog, described as the "institutional Bible" because it provided the official statement of policy, was perceived by staff, students and faculty, alike, as the most important college document. However, given its high level of difficulty in reading, this document was not very useful to students with reading difficulties or with limited English skills.

For all students "asking the right question" was the critical operation. This was as true for students who did not have difficulty with reading and writing as it was for those who did. However, it was never clear how students learned the right questions. Students who had not anticipated attending college and did not have friends or family to help them were less likely to formulate appropriate questions.

Students who persisted generally obtained assistance. In fact, some student services were established specifically to assist special students. Chicano services, for example, was frequently used by Spanish speaking students to obtain assistance in completing the admissions application and the application for financial aid. Even as their English improved, these students continued to seek assistance from this office with many types of procedural questions. It was not uncommon for students to take the form or paperwork of one service to another service for assistance. This was particularly true of limited English speaking students and of many of the students in developmental classes. Help with the financial aid application was also sought from a variety of services on campus.

With the exception of the three areas which required major application forms; admissions and records, student financial aid, and veterans affairs, the reading and writing required by student services was minimal. Thus, lack of reading and writing skills was not a barrier to access at Oakwood or to the use of support services once enrolled. The development of such new offices as Chicano services and special services as well as the emphasis on speaking and listening provided alternatives to reading and writing for students who persisted and who could ask the right questions.

The majority of students at Oakwood were not interested in obtaining degrees. Written materials and services reflected a lack of concern with completion. Administrators were more concerned about the accuracy of sections of the catalog dealing with legal requirements than with those focusing on program. The class schedule reflected limited attention to arranging classes so that full-time students could complete degree requirements without delays or substitutions. It was a fact that few students graduated. The relative contribution of student objectives and institutional practices to the low completion rate was not so clear.

Reading and Writing in the Classroom

Written language was used frequently and regularly in most classrooms at Oakwood. However, it was used in a rather restricted manner, which we have termed "bitting". Isolated fragments of written language were used to convey bits of information. Reading and writing were used primarily as part of multimodal activities along with oral language and nonverbal modes of communication. Written language was used within a context of social interaction and was usually highly cued by the instructor.

We observed very little of an alternative form of reading and writing which we called texting. Texting is probably the prototypical type of reading and writing that most people associate with college. It entails the independent production or comprehension of connected discourse for the purpose of achieving holistic meaning. At Oakwood, texting was rare; bitting was the norm.

Three varieties of this "bitting" use of written language were observed, associated with three types of classrooms. In the dominant type, which we termed information transfer, instructors read from lecture notes and wrote on a blackboard while students for the most part merely copied the material from the board as a verbatim form of notetaking. Out of class, students used a textbook as well as handouts from the instructor. After an initial, rather casual reading of these materials, they would usually skim the texts for answers to study guide questions in preparation for multiple choice exams. Very seldom were any other requirements for written language made. Essay exams, reports, and term papers were seldom assigned.

The overwhelming majority of classes we observed were of the information transfer type. However, two other types are described here because they entailed distinct variations in the use of reading and writing. The first was the basic language skills course where reading and writing were used to complete workbooks and worksheets as part of an instructor-guided group activity. In the second variant, the vocational lab course, the written language was in the form of manuals and instructions which were skimmed for information needed to accomplish assigned tasks. Reading activity was integrated into the work being done.

In our efforts to interpret the bitting forms of reading and writing we observed in the classroom, we found two aspects of the classroom context to be especially significant: 1) the motives of students and objectives of instructors, and 2) the social, physical, and temporal dimensions of classroom events. These features of the classroom content covaried with the characteristics of reading and writing.

Literacy in an Information Transfer Course

As mentioned previously, the dominant variety of literacy was associated with the type of course which we have termed the information transfer course. Why was the reading and writing in these classrooms of a bitting sort? Why was there not more texting, more independent use of continuous discourse toward the achievement of holistic meanings? We hypothesize that students "bit" because they are requirement meeters and their instructors are knowledge brokers. Students who are requirement meeters establish norms which involve spending as little time as possible on school-related matters. The instructors for their part were primarily knowledge brokers who wanted to insure that information basic to their disciplines was transmitted to the students. Over the years these instructors had come to acknowledge that their students were primarily requirement meeters. A match between their orientations and the students' orientations led to requirements specifying a passing grade on a multiple choice test which comprised recognition, recall and application tasks. Other requirements for analysis, synthesis, or evaluation were not found. Both instructors and students pursued their objectives within an established classroom context. The instructor directed communication towards the students as an undifferentiated whole and received infrequent verbal feedback from a few spokespeople for the group. The traditional physical setting for this type of class reinforced the participation structure by spatially orienting the classroom toward a single focus in the front of the room where the instructor stood and by arranging seating positions in regularly spaced vertical columns.

The knowledge broker instructor and the requirement meeter students met every other day for approximately 50 minutes, and each meeting had a regular and predictable event structure. Out-of-class events were kept to a minimum for both instructors and students. The transactions which occurred within the classroom session, itself, became the major focus of course activity and the primary preparation for meeting the requirements of the course.

Given the characteristics of this context and the requirements of the course, the objectives of participants led to some predictable participant styles. The instructor served as information disseminator while students became an attentive audience. Because instructors were primarily interested in ensuring that students received the information they valued, they were willing to let expectations about reading and writing change even while supporting, at least verbally, the intrinsic value of more traditional forms of reading and writing. They presented as much of the required information as possible in bits in their lecture and on the board. In addition, they usually presented such strong cues to outside reading through study guides that students were readily able to "bit" their texts and other written materials as well. Bitting became the norm in the information transfer course to the extent that both instructors and students became indignant if different expectations were raised. Instructors did not want to play a role as either socializer or facilitator of skill development. They did not want to "text" student writings or even student speaking. Students, for their part, felt it was unfair to be required to become obligatory participants or to demonstrate competence in specific skills, especially language skills. All they expected was to receive and give back or recognize specific bits of information accurately. They did not want to have to text either the instructor's lecture or the textbook and they did not expect to have to prepare or present texts written or orally.

Literacy in a Basic Language Skills Course

In contrast to the information transfer course, the highly-structured and social form of bitting that characterized the reading and writing in basic language skills classes was associated with a different set of objectives and a different classroom context. The students in these classes talked about their goal as learning to read and write to get a good job, but they had only a vague concept of how reading and writing related to this objective. For this reason, we called these students non-specific information users. Such a motivation led to classroom interactions in which students were dependent on the direction of someone else "in the know".

The instructors in this setting were socializers who wanted to insure that students learned behavior and attitudes appropriate to a classroom setting. These instructors, therefore, adopted a directive style. Since students did not have a clear rationale for their participation in these classes, they readily responded to the direction of the instructor. They became obligatory participants.

The classroom context facilitated the directive style of the instructor and the obligatory participant style of the students. For example, classes included group drill as well as individual work sessions with tutor assistance. The physical setting allowed for many centers of classroom activity. Students moved chairs to sit in irregular groupings based on ability or other appropriate characteristics.

Sessions were usually longer and more frequent than in information transfer courses. Within a specific session, phases were less regular and predictable, varying in content and length from day-to-day. Usually several simultaneous events were included and transitions between phases were less clearly marked and not uniformly followed by all students. The variability and lack of clarity in the event-structure emphasized the dependent role of students who could not predict and independently adapt to the activities of the classroom but had to rely on direction from the instructor and tutors.

These courses concentrated on reading and writing as it occurred within a social context of guided interaction. Instructors as socializers in a directive role did not want students to waste time on activities geared to information transfer nor did they wish to have students or themselves engage in much reading and writing outside of a social context. The students, for their part, also preferred to do their writing and reading in the classroom context under the direction of the instructor since they were unfamiliar with the content, form, and function of the reading and writing tasks in which they were engaged.

Literacy in Vocational Lab Courses

A third variety of literacy occurred in vocational lab courses where the modal students seemed to have a fairly clear idea of the skills they needed to learn and how they would use them in the future. We called these students specific information users. The instructors' orientation was that of guides. In the classroom they acted as resources and as models for the students. The activities in vocational lab courses occurred primarily within a work group structure. There was much student-to-student interaction as well as student-to-instructor interaction.

The physical setting was activity and equipment oriented with irregular and changing spatial arrangements. The dimensions and shape of the room were designed with the lab activity in mind. Activity was organized around the need to share machinery and materials. The settings in vocational lab courses often resembled the work settings for which the students were being prepared. The length of sessions also resembled a more work-oriented setting and were determined by the nature of the task.

Requirements related primarily, to getting tasks done correctly. Alternative requirements, such as recognition of specific information or the demonstration of appropriate behavior and attitudes were secondary. Although some objectives similar to those in information transfer and basic skills could be identified within these courses, in the lab setting they were enabling objectives important only as they contributed to the real objective of "doing the work" well.

The reading and writing that occurred in this setting could best be described as context-cued bitting. Reading and writing were not goals in themselves but were used whenever they facilitated the work tasks to be done. The reading and writing was most similar to that reported by Scribner and Jacob (1980) and Mikulecky and Diehl (1979) in their studies of literacy in work settings. Students referred to manuals and written instructions as they tried to carry out tasks but written information was used along with oral language. Often, students shared their interpretations of the instructions and discussed the application to the current problem. The written word was a tool but seldom the final authority.

Implications Of The Study

Literacy is a complex concept. It involves relationships among: 1) the operations of reading and writing; 2) the goal directed activities of which these are a part; 3) the context or institutional setting in which they occur; and 4) the objectives of participants in that setting. Changes in any of these elements changes the nature of literacy. The nature of literacy varies with the participants' motives and preferred styles for interaction. Because reading and writing also occur as part of rule governed social interaction, the nature of literacy varies with the social context. The social context, in turn, affects and is affected by the physical and temporal aspects of the context of literacy. However, in all classrooms and non-classroom contexts we observed, the trend seemed to be away from the type of reading and writing we have called expressive texting and toward a more instrumental bitting variety of these operations.

We predict that this trend will continue because of our expectations about the future direction of change in student, instructor, and administrator motivational orientations and in the nature of the college context and the societal forces influencing it. In the hypotheses which follow, we focus on various aspects of the community college context that seem to be influencing the trend toward instrumental bitting. The hypotheses begin with a broad focus on the mission of the institution as a whole and then move to consider the influence of administrators, students and faculty. A final hypothesis is concerned with the consequences of the type of literacy we observed at Oakwood.

Emphasis on mission expansion and enrollment growth has important implications for literacy

Current controversy surrounding community college mission involves three central issues each of which has important implications for institutional expectations of literacy among students.

The first poses the question of whom community colleges should serve. If the answer is "everyone" or "the total community" the range of acceptable performance in activities related to literacy becomes much broader than if some minimum competency such as "eighth grade reading ability as measured by a standardized examination" is established.

The second issue involves what should be done for those admitted. If the entire community constitutes the clientele and no priorities are established among the objectives of those who attend, then all activities have equal merit and there is limited incentive to demand improved performance on basic skills except as improved performance happens to coincide with the objectives of a majority of the participants in a particular program, as in the case of the basic skills program at Oakwood where students wanted to improve their ability to read and write English.

Finally, there is the issue of who should pay for the services provided. Among policy makers support is strongest for the traditional missions of college parallel and occupational education. Varying degrees of resistance are encountered for remedial education which is viewed as "non-collegiate" and "paying for the same education twice". Community service activities and continuing education are also viewed as nonessential.

Because objectives concerning literacy were not defined for either administrators or faculty, changes in literacy occurred as a by-product of pursuing other institutional directions. To the extent the mission of the community college should be service to adults whose needs can be satisfied without earning degrees or transferring to a four-year college or university, literacy demands can be attuned to student preferences without much concern. To the extent that community colleges continue their historic mission of providing access to the professions through preparation for the baccalaureate or access to careers through improving competencies including literacy-related skills, literacy demands must be kept at a moderately high level.

Administrators can change the educational program despite faculty resistance by judicious use of the resources available to them. Administratively directed change has important but largely unrecognized consequences for literacy.

Administrators in the Richfield District caused changes in the educational program during the study. Changes included greater diversity among clientele and services, more emphasis on remedial education and a redefinition of its purposes, an effort to improve retention and the expansion and improvement of career education programs. The strategies used to promote change were: planning, resource allocation, reorganization, staffing changes, staff development, evaluation and participation in decision making. The process involved defining goals, setting priorities and allocating resources to achieve priorities. While many groups had input into this process, the key decision to implement remained within the province of the chief executive and his cabinet providing a fail-safe mechanism for directing the change process.

During the early part of the study, such strategies as reorganization and staffing changes were used to cause major change with the effect of unfreezing the District from its previous traditional (by community college standards) posture. These large changes including the establishment of a college-without-walls, the implementation of an extensive student recruiting process and the appointment of many outsiders to key district positions produced significant conflict, much of which focused on the chief executive officer and his new appointments.

Later, planning, the allocation of discretionary resources, and the use of staff development and participation in decision making became the central administrative strategies for change. This served to reduce the level of conflict by slowing the pace of change and by establishing a wider range of formal goals more representative of the values of the District staff.

Administrators and faculty in the Richfield District brought different values to the change process. Administrators were growth oriented. A major indicator of success, for them, was increase in the numbers of full-time student equivalents. Growth also resulted in budget increases, bringing the flexibility to initiate new services. Faculty, by contrast, were concerned about the impact of additional growth on already crowded facilities, as well as the effect of an increasingly diverse student clientele, on their ability to teach and to experience success as they defined it.

Administrators prized innovation and problem-solving as appropriate responses to what they perceived as a need to change the educational program and services to make them more responsive to the external community. Faculty resisted administratively directed innovation and belittled the use of outside experts brought in to tell them how to improve or change. Administrators were concerned with numbers; faculty were concerned with process. Administrators believed that every adult not being served by some other type of institution was an appropriate focus for community college recruiting activity. Faculty preferred to restrict their efforts to students who exhibited the characteristics they regarded as essential for success in the college parallel or career programs.

Planning and resource allocation were the central strategies in accomplishing change. Discretionary funds were used to free faculty, who were willing to pursue administrative priorities, from some of the time constraints to which their colleagues were subjected. Staff development activities provided social support for faculty willing to pursue administrative priorities and gave evidence to administrators of progress in achieving their objectives.

Perhaps the most important contribution of both the planning process and staff development activities was to redefine normative expectations. Because administrators controlled the process of disseminating information and gave significant publicity to the outcomes both of planning activities and of staff development sessions, there was little doubt in anyone's mind as to what the priorities actually were. This left faculty with a limited number of options. They could choose to commit themselves to the achievement of administratively defined priorities and, by so doing, qualify for the rewards that were made available in the form of released time, supplementary pay and, perhaps, an administrative appointment. Alternatively, they could choose to resist institutional priorities, thereby incurring the threat of possible sanctions. In the Richfield District, given the high job security of faculty, the threat of sanctions was not a significant deterrant. Finally, faculty could opt for a covert resistance or simply transfer their energies to activities outside the institution, such as businesses or avocational interests.

A majority of Oakwood faculty remained uncommitted to District priorities throughout the study. For all of the priorities, however, there were sufficient committed faculty to permit progress provided that the level of resistance could be controlled. Staff development activities and planning were instrumental in keeping resistance to manageable levels.

Each of the four administrative priorities pursued with greatest intensity had significant implications for literacy. Recruiting nontraditional clientele increased diversity in terms of student objectives and reading and writing skills. Emphasizing retention placed pressure on faculty to avoid literacy demands that might have disqualified numbers of students in proportion to perceived declines in skills. Emphasizing developmental education and awarding academic credit for improvement in basic reading and writing skills contributed to faculty uncertainty about standards in other courses. Finally, the concern with occupational education was an important factor in the observed trend toward functional uses of literacy closely attuned to student objectives and the work setting. There was no evidence that administrators grasped the unintended consequences of the priorities they pursued.

The diverse student clientele now entering the community colleges, particularly those whose language usage differs from a more traditional student clientele, affect the process of institutional adaptation through largely non-directed change processes.

We have previously discussed the process through which administratively directed change occurs and the largely unintentional consequences such changes have for the reading and writing expected of students. A second type of change that occurs concurrently with change that is administratively directed may be compared to the erosion of sandstone by wind, sand and water. The forms that emerge are the result of soft places wearing away leaving behind the more resistant structures. While we treat these two types of change separately to illustrate the impact of nontraditional students on literacy behaviors in a community college setting, in practice the two intermingle functioning together as erosive forces on institutional form. Many administrators and most faculty resisted change whether administratively directed or arising as a by-product of such decisions as those to recruit and retain a more diverse student clientele. Changes in educational programs during the study reflected administrative priorities, but they also reflected the values most important to those who resisted change efforts.

In the process of change/adaptation the extent to which responses were ultimately institutionalized reflected accommodation among those involved in designing and implementing the response. Certain changes; including those related to orientation, registration and advising; involved negotiations between faculty and administrators. The resultant responses reflected student values only to the extent such values were held by those who participated in the decision process. If a constituency did not participate in shaping a decision, their values were not a factor in the final decision. Thus, the direct influence of students was limited to individual courses and such support services as the learning assistance center and Chicano services where they were in extended contact with faculty or administrators responsible for staffing those services.

Given organizational resistance to change and the fact that only those who participated in the decision process influenced the responses ultimately institutionalized, underprepared students, particularly those with limited English language proficiency impacted services and programs primarily through an indirect and not very visible chain of events. Open access institutions experience change in the characteristics of their clientele either as a consequence of changing demographics in the communities they serve or as a consequence of an administrative decision to recruit specific clienteles in response to affirmative action commitments or to offset declines in the numbers of traditional students. All of these factors operated at Oakwood leading to increases in the numbers of Chicano students served. For some of the Chicano students recruited, English was a second language. Some were essentially monolingual in Spanish. Some had limited formal education either in Spanish or English.

Students with limited command of the English language as well as those whose reading and writing skills differed markedly from the traditional Oakwood student placed new demands on institutional services. The institution faced with the need to change existing services or to add new ones elected what appeared to be the less complex solution of establishing new services: Chicano services, special services and the learning assistance center were examples. These services provided a buffer or in some cases an interpreter between nontraditional students and traditional services which, through this alternative, presumably were left to carry on business as usual. The existance of these "special" services changed the literacy demands from reading and writing to speaking (primarily questioning) and listening. These services also recruited effectively and helped new students negotiate the mysteries of the registration process and the financial aids office. In addition, they often played an advocacy role for their clientele with other institutional services or offices.

The choice of establishing separate services was made almost irresistable to the institution by the actions of external agencies, including the federal government, in providing grants to fund such services for periods of three to five years. For institutions such as Oakwood, financial constraints become a primary consideration in selecting alternatives for implementation.

Educational programs experienced pressures for accommodation similar to those experienced by supporting services. Several adaptations occurred, including the creation of successively lower levels of remedial courses. Along with the proliferation of remedial courses came problems involving initial placement and standards for progressing. Should students be required to enter remedial courses or simply warned with the right to choose a higher level course, if they so desire? Overlaying this entire process was the administrative concern with student retention.

Students who had diverse and serious problems involving their ability to read and write English could not be remediated over relatively short time periods in 25-30 student classes and most did not persist into advanced classes. Faced with growing evidence that the objectives of remedial courses were not being achieved, the adult basic skills program and the intensive English for Spanish speakers program were established. While the programs did offer an integrated format and special support services, their most unique aspect was the change in program objectives. In addition to improving reading and writing, the new programs also focused on self-actualization and socialization. For the first time "success" at Oakwood did not depend solely upon improvements in reading and writing skills or performance in advanced courses.

Thus, it can be seen that when confronted with a clientele different from the one the courses were designed to serve, the reaction as in the case of support services was to structure an alternative with the major purpose of preventing the need for change in existing programs. Those responsible for developing early remedial offerings assumed that nontraditional students were like traditional students in terms of objectives and learning modes; the only requirement was to go back to where they were. When assumptions about the nontraditional students proved in error, the second alternative was to develop a special self contained program designed exclusively around their characteristics. Thus, the program in intensive English for Spanish speakers in many respects was the instructional equivalent of Chicano services.

The influence on literacy is multi-faceted. Elsewhere, we have noted that in the normal order of things, neither administrators nor faculty concern themselves specifically with teaching literacy skills in the community college. The assumption is that students bring with them the requisite skills and that the learning program should convey specific competencies or general education content. The admission of students with limited reading, writing and numeracy skills compels specific attention to literacy and numeracy instruction. Faculty who have had limited preparation for this type of teaching suddenly find themselves confronted with the need to establish literacy standards and to assist underprepared students in meeting those standards. Emphasis in the employment of new faculty is given to those who express both the interest and exhibit the skills involved in teaching reading and writing. One consequence was the possibility that students may be required to do more reading and writing especially of the texting variety in remedial than in standard courses.

The decision to fund remedial courses designed to improve reading and writing skills for students whose previous achievement ranges from zero to 9th grade reading levels on the same basis as transfer courses where students are assumed capable of beginning at a common point and proceeding at a standard rate inhibits their effectiveness. Smaller classes in the basic literacy skills can only be achieved at the expense of larger classes in the transfer areas. In neither the remedial nor the transfer courses were student-teacher ratios established conducive to an emphasis upon increasing rather than reducing the demands for reading and writing connected discourse.

Student and faculty objectives have an impact on literacy in the classroom.

The student population in community colleges can be expected to increase in diversity and to include larger percentages of nontraditional students. Even now, most students are adults for whom being a student represents but one of a number of significant roles and responsibilities. They enroll briefly on a part time basis for specific, often job related purposes. Since student networking is thin and orientation and advisement activities haphazard, their experience on the campus is not likely to promote a stronger rationale for investment of large chunks of time in the student role.

In classrooms, these students participate as requirement meeters and/or specific information users thus contributing to an environment where knowledge seekers who may want to identify strongly with the student role for its own sake are viewed as deviants.

Since little in the experience of requirement meeters would cause them to develop or want to develop texting ability, their presence leads to the almost exclusive use of bitting forms of reading and writing. Studies of literacy in secondary schools, job settings and home situations all seem to indicate that instrumental bitting is a societal phenomenon. It typifies language use in most areas of life for the average adult in our country. As community colleges attempt to become more relevant for both philosophic and economic reasons, they can be expected to mirror the societal trend in language use. The only problem with this trend from a pragmatic perspective may concern transfer students. If these institutions require texting, the promotion of bitting in community colleges may not provide the requisite skills.

Given the current trends in the selection, preparation, and work situation of Oakwood faculty, we expect them to continue to have motivational orientations and teaching styles which promote instrumental bitting. Faculty are selected on the basis of extensive training and experience in the content area they teach, but they are confronted with students who are requirement meeters and specific information users rather than knowledge seekers interested in a discipline for its own sake. The institution, because of the nature of its funding, must continue to put a priority on retaining these students. Faced with this situation and with the time constraints of heavy teaching loads, instructors are likely to continue to be information disseminators who set specific knowledge-level objectives for their courses and make it as easy as possible for students to get the bits of information they need to pass course requirements based on these objectives.

Faculty not directly involved in teaching literacy, as well as those who are, become aware that institutional norms have changed. The institution has undertaken a direct commitment to students whose skills are different from those around whom existing programs were initially designed. Adaptation is required. Since faculty prize disciplinary content more highly than they do the methodology for transmitting it, alternatives are sought for communicating the same content. The use of multi-media presentations, the development of lecture guides, the selection of texts with reduced reading levels and the use of objective as distinct from essay examinations are only some of the ways faculty preserve content while reducing the requirements for reading or producing connected discourse.

Administrators contribute to the deemphasis on prototypical reading and writing. Staff development sessions are scheduled to teach alternative approaches to serving students with different learning styles and characteristics. Heavy emphasis is placed on mediated instruction and the use of learning objectives, which are most easily written and tested for lower level cognitive objectives. Larger class sizes and overload assignments reduce the time available for evaluating essays or term papers.

The decision to accept and sometimes to recruit nontraditional students along with pressures for improving student retention encourage faculty to accommodate themselves to student preferences and to compensate for declining reading and writing skills through methods which place less emphasis on prototypical reading and writing.

The continuing pervasiveness of instrumental bitting in community colleges is likely to have far reaching consequences for students in terms of cognitive development, knowledge, learning style and social status.

The three dimensions that define bitting are: 1) the discontinuity of the written discourse used, 2) the extent to which fragmented as opposed to more holistic concepts are emphasized, and 3) the high degree to which structure and cues are provided by the instructor or the environment rather than developed internally by the learner. Assessing the consequences of an emphasis on bitting requires caution in the absence of more conclusive research. Nevertheless, it is possible to define some of the possible consequences and to indicate both their positive and negative attributes. Table 10.1 summarizes these differing perspectives on possible consequences.

Table 10.1

Possible Consequences of the Modal Variety of Literacy (Bitting) at Oakwood

Negative	Positive
1. Bitting leads to a lack of cognitive development.	1. Bitting is embedded in higher order coping strategies.
2. Bitting yields a low quality of knowledge.	2. Bitting insures that basic knowledge will be transferred - an appropriate goal for this stage of education.
3. Bitting builds dependence through reliance on external cues.	3. Bitting promotes efficiency and adaptability through the use of environmental cues.
4. Bitting leads to a lack of flexibility in learning styles which is dysfunctional in a changing world.	4. Bitting is the result of a negotiation process which is consistent with the preferred learning style and goals of participants in this situation. Students may use other learning styles if situation or goals were different.
5. Bitting means there is a lack of expressive and/or active (engaged) language use by students.	5. Bitting means students as adults are not forced to take a style of self disclosure and engagement inappropriate to their purposes for taking the course.
6. Bitting maintains the class structure by preparing students to fit lower class slots in society.	6. Bitting facilitates social mobility by removing obstacles based on traditional concepts of "college literacy" but promotes functional literacy.

The continuing use of forms of reading and writing which do not involve significant analysis or synthesis could inhibit the development of higher order thinking skills of the type that may be required for admission to professional schools or for successful pursuit of the baccalaureate in four year colleges and universities. Where information is presented, recorded and evaluated in terms of specific bits of information, the knowledge gained may be less meaningful, less powerful and ultimately less useful depending upon student objectives.

Alternatively, it can be argued that although the bitting behavior, itself, reflects a rather low level of cognitive activity, it is embedded within a higher order coping strategy which can be seen to reflect sophisticated levels of critical thinking on the part of students. In other words, students integrate information about the context of the classroom, the instructor's style, the materials presented, and other demands of the situation with their own knowledge of their goals, abilities, and previous experience in developing a high order classroom strategy. Focusing on reading and writing behavior in isolation from its place within this complex strategy presents a distorted picture of the cognitive activity of students.

The continuing use and even encouragement of bitting may contribute to dependence on the part of students. They may increasingly need external cues in order to read, write, and process information. Since continuing emphasis on bitting activities provide little opportunity for the student to engage in self directed inquiry, the result may be lack of flexibility in learning styles that could prove critical in a rapidly changing world. In an opposing view bitting can be seen as contributing to efficiency and adaptability through the use of environmental cues to make selective decisions about when to apply reading or writing skills.

The lack of expressive and/or active and engaged language use, resulting from bitting, may lead to citizens who are passive information consumers rather than individuals whose voices are heard. Because of limited experience in originating, formulating and presenting their opinions, values and feelings, their political ability to have impact on their communities is lessened. On the other hand, the lack of expressive and engaged language use may simply reflect the preferred style for these adults in terms of their objectives for being in the class.

It is clear that the use of bitting by instructors and students ensures that basic knowledge will be transferred accurately. The transference of basic knowledge may be an appropriate outcome for these classes since it fits the goals of both instructors and students as well as the stage in an overall educational process which these courses seem to represent for most individuals.

A final set of alternative consequences relates to the issue of social mobility. If the trend toward bitting in community colleges produces an increasing discontinuity between the literacy behaviors rewarded in the community college setting and those expected in the four year college or university, opportunities for achieving the objective of promoting upward social mobility through access to community colleges could easily be impaired. In effect, students could be restricted in competing for opportunities to enter many of the professional, managerial and technical fields which currently require independent, highly critical and expressive uses of reading and writing.

This is, of course, the point that Astin seeks to make in his studies of persistence to the baccalaureate. He and others have consistently found that, even when variables such as ability, previous educational attainment and socioeconomic status are statistically controlled, the probability that a student will persist to the baccalaureate is significantly enhanced if they begin their studies in a four year as opposed to a two year institution (Astin, 1977).

Astin's research presents an overly simplified picture, however. Breneman and Nelson (1981, p. 74) in their recent study support Astin's conclusions for students in general but then add that community colleges help some students to attain a baccalaureate including those who are black. Their data did not provide any information about why black students were more likely to persist to the baccalaureate if they began in a community college although they speculated that it may have been true because blacks have a less academically oriented high school experiences.

From the perspective of our study, it appears that the heavy emphasis on bitting may make it possible for motivated students to learn content without possessing the reading and writing skills that would be necessary where more emphasis was placed on prototypical literacy, that is the reading and writing of connected discourse. Since the heaviest emphasis on screening students out of the baccalaureate sequence commonly occurs at the freshman and sophomore levels, underprepared students who gain the content of these two years along with some practice in highly efficient and goal directed uses of reading and writing may enhance their opportunities for attaining the baccalaureate. This effect could be magnified where students transferred in significant numbers placing pressure on senior institutions to accept some negotiation of literacy demands in third year classes accommodating the largest influx of transfers. If this view is correct, the community college may be contributing to social mobility selectively by enhancing the opportunities for highly motivated but underprepared minorities while simultaneously "cooling out" larger number of marginal baccalaureate candidates whose chances for employment or upward mobility might not be enhanced significantly by earning the baccalaureate.

The negative view of the consequences of bitting focuses on the lack of analysis, synthesis and critical meaning - the absence of striving for holistic meaning. The positive view stresses relevance, integration with context, efficiency and task effectiveness.

Policy Alternatives

Mission Expansion and Enrollment Growth

The guiding philosophy of the community college movement encompasses virtually all conceivable activities of an educational nature excluding only those clientele required by law to enroll in public schools and those aspiring to a baccalaureate or higher degree who have completed more than two years of undergraduate work. Given limited resources the alternative course would involve setting constraints on activities and clientele by specifying performance levels and defining priorities.

Establishing expected competencies and defining priorities among clientele will inevitably narrow the range of individuals served and may have adverse consequences in terms of access especially for some nontraditional student groups. At the same time, this appears to be the only course of action that has the potential for reversing the current trend toward more functional uses of literacy. If we are concerned about improving the ability of citizens to read and write connected discourse, specific attention must be given to this objective with the inevitable diminishment of breadth in other areas of service.

The consequence of continuing to pursue mission expansion without regard to priorities would seem to result in continuing emphasis, in the words of one Oakwood administrator, on "whatever sells and keeps selling". The priority of meeting the needs of the adult population for activities and services without regard to societal concerns about levels of literacy suggests the emergence of an institutional form modeled after the Western European Folkschool valued as an adult education opportunity but not integrated with other elements of a system of postsecondary education.

Administrators concerned with mission expansion and increasing enrollments as was the case in the Richfield District have several alternatives at their disposal for financing controversial activities. First, they can make them totally self-supporting and this choice is often exercised in the community service area. Second, they can make new activities look as much like transfer or career education as possible to qualify for regular state subsidies. The use of this alternative can raise issues of credibility for standard course offerings thus contributing to a decline in the amount of prototypical literacy expected of all students. The use of this alternative may also lead to retaliation from legislatures in the form of appropriations which fail to keep pace with enrollment growth or from universities in the form of accepting transfer courses for elective credit only. Finally, new activities, especially those involving remediation, may be financed by diverting funds from traditional programs through such mechanisms as increasing class size or employing lower paid adjunct faculty to teach higher percentages of the total class load. Increasing class size or reducing the number of full time faculty affects such requirements as the number and type of writing assignments and thus contributes to some of the movement toward the functional end of the literacy continuum observed in this study.

Literacy and Administratively Directed Change

Administrators may pursue evolutionary change through the use of planning, resource allocation and similar long-term strategies. Alternatively, they may pursue more rapid change through such strategies as reorganization and staffing changes. Pace of change and level of conflict are directly related. Most institutions have limited tolerance for conflict and so are likely to choose the more gradual approach. There appear to be several steps involved in achieving gradual change of a directed nature. These include at least: 1) development of commitment among a core group of faculty through careful recruiting, planning and the use of discretionary resources, 2) reducing faculty commitment to competing objectives by redefining institutional norms through use of information, staff development and participation, 3) retaining control of resource allocation and the implementation stage to ensure consistency between decisions operationalized and administrative priorities.

Administrators may continue to select priorities with primary attention to discrete program objectives or they may choose to examine more closely the impact of new and continuing priorities on the type of literacy activity that occurs within the classrooms. The decision about which of these alternatives is preferable relates back to the mission issue of all-inclusive versus somewhat selective. If institutions are to serve the needs of all students as well as they are able, they will have limited opportunity or motivation to explore the literacy concommitants of their priorities. If on the other hand, the priority is to help some defined subsets of the population achieve measureable competencies, then the ability to read and write connected discourse is likely to be a key concern.

Adaptation to a Diverse Student Clientele

Choice points exist with respect to admissions, administration of financial aid, organization of the educational program, requirements for progress and evaluation. The public policy priorities of the past two decades have led most community colleges to stress access, defined as the number participating in some organized activity, rather than achievement, defined as the number of making progress toward some recognizable educational objective. Table 10.2 summarizes the range of policy decisions available to community colleges for each of five major decision areas. In the early sixties, most community colleges had policies placing them in the left half or achievement oriented sector. The concern with access has moved a majority into the right half of the table. Certainly, Oakwood and its sister colleges had this orientation.

The decision to admit or recruit students with characteristics different from those already in attendance carries the consequence of required change. Such change can be reactive as is ordinarily the case or it can be proactive in the sense of anticipating the demands that will develop. Given the current restrictions on available resources, administrators and other policy makers may need to establish minimally acceptable levels of basic skills which entering students must possess. If limitations on clientele are established, consideration needs to be given to objectives for attending, ability to read and write English, and cultural uniqueness as well as aptitude.

Special programs or services designed to mediate between the needs of nontraditional clientele and standard institutional programs serve a stop-gap purpose. Ultimately, changes need to be made in staff characteristics and the literacy demands of standard programs and services. Special programs and services can provide the time necessary for gradual accommodation preventing the conflict and institutional trauma that may result from the necessity of adjusting quickly.

The impact of administrative decisions involving services to nontraditional clientele or literacy expectations needs explicit definition. Reducing demands for prototypical literacy may be helpful to nontraditional clientele in completing the first two years of a baccalaureate sequence. However, if concurrent changes in the literacy

Table 10.2

Serving Underprepared Students
Policy Alternatives

Policy Areas	Student Performance Improving Quality	Institutional Priorities (Continuum)		Student Access Increasing Enrollments
Admissions	Restrict admission to students meeting minimum requirements for specified remedial sequences.	Open admissions, enrollment limited to defined remedial/ developmental sequences.	Open admissions, enrollment advised in defined/remedial developmental sequences.	Recruit actively, developmental remedial courses available, but enrollment permitted in any course for which there is no quota (i.e. Nursing).
Financial Assistance	Limited to students making defined progress toward a degree or certificate.	Limited to some equated period during which student must complete degree or certificate equivalent.	Based on liberal interpretation of regulations, no special policies or procedures to keep students eligible.	Established policies keep all students eligible for as long as possible (credit for basic skills, easy withdrawal, etc.)
Educational Program	Limited to remedial courses in academic skill areas and administered by related departments. (May include study skills courses and tutoring).	Emphasizes remedial courses in academic skill areas administered by related departments. Includes developmental support services such as tutoring and study skills courses.	Emphasizes courses and services described as developmental supported by remedial courses in academic skill areas.	Courses and services described as developmental/basic skills and administered by a separate unit.
Requirements For Progress	Must qualify for regular status in a degree or certificate program in one year or less (equated).	Must make defined progress toward regular status in a degree or certificate program.	Must complete some minimum number of the courses attempted each semester.	None, continuing enrollment facilitated by liberal withdrawal regulations and nonpunitive grading.
Method of Assessing Achievement	Standardized or teacher developed examination of academic competencies.	Completion of defined sequence with specified grades in all required courses.	Grade point average for courses completed.	None with the exception of surveys of student satisfaction.

expectations of four-year college and university programs have not occurred, changes in literacy demands in the community college setting may leave students ill-prepared to cope with the university environment.

The emphasis upon functional literacy is perhaps an inevitable consequence of the changing characteristics and objectives of students attending community college. Under current circumstances, students with baccalaureate degrees in liberal arts often end up competing with community college graduates from the less technical career options. Given the continuing emphasis from employers on reading and writing to do, community colleges may need to give explicit as well as implicit attention to the literacy skills of even those students whose previous educational background exceeds the level where remediation is required.

Currently, students in need of remediation are often required to complete 12 hours of degree credit work each semester to remain eligible for full financial aid. This places the institution in the administratively and ethically percarious position of awarding credits toward some type of general degree for work that essentially parallels the competencies taught in elementary schools. Each semester faculty must wrack their brains to find 12 hours of work that can be counted in which the students lack of reading and writing skills will not be an impediment to the instructor or the rest of the class. If community colleges are to serve the more than mildly remedial, policy makers should develop programs of support that are not based on the assumption that recipients are uniformly interested in and making progress toward a recognized college degree. It may well be that the subsistence needs of seriously underprepared students should be served through welfare rather than educational agencies even though their learning experiences may occur in a community college.

Policy makers may need to give attention to at least two aspects of institutional operation. Currently, mission statements for community colleges seem to delegate to them responsibility for all nontraditional student populations whose basic skills are below those considered minimally acceptable for baccalaureate work. It may be desirable to establish some lower boundary below which an alternative form of institution might be considered to work with those who need to acquire basic skills. This responsibility is currently in limbo with some of it being done by adult high schools, some by community colleges and some not being done at all. It may well be that a new form of institution with a focus on basic skills will be required to deal with the problem, particularly where English is a second language and the adult has limited formal schooling in his/her native tongue.

Alternatively, community colleges may need to be encouraged to establish special institutes for literacy where staff qualifications, funding procedures, time constraints and teaching loads are deliberately divorced from conventional practice. The key observation is that no ideal programs exist at the present time and community colleges have been engaged in promoting literacy for more than twenty years. It is not that community colleges can't teach literacy; many do. The issues rather involve effectiveness, economic efficiency and compatibility with other responsibilities.

Literacy in Relation to Student and Faculty Objectives

Our findings suggest that student objectives may be more important than aptitudes in determining the literacy requirements of a classroom setting. Instrumental bitting may be the most appropriate and effective behavior in a class populated primarily by adults seeking to learn a job related skill or information they expect to use in their daily lives. When this orientation carries over into baccalaureate related instruction where a better case can be made for the importance of learning prototypical literacy behaviors, the issue of intervention arises.

How can policy makers deal with the generalized expectations conveyed by community colleges that even baccalaureate oriented students need not complete programs? One alternative that has been suggested is to remove the baccalaureate function from community colleges leaving them to do what they do best (Breneman & Nelson, 1981). One problem with this alternative, of course, is that one of the things they do best (or at least better than their four year counterparts) is to help black students persist to the baccalaureate. Similarly, they are more accessible and thus promote involvement in postsecondary education by under represented groups.

An alternative to mission differentiation at the state level might be program differentiation at the institutional level. Funding strategies of community college administrators have led them to reduce distinctions between the purposes of the various courses they offer to achieve maximum state reimbursement. Reversing this direction by defining the purposes of specific courses as baccalaureate oriented and restricting admission to students with compatible objectives and aptitudes might provide an environment within which more texting could be required. Of course as noted elsewhere, such an approach would also require attention to the orientations of faculty chosen to teach the courses. If an institution was able to define the type of literacy it wished to promote through a specific program, the use of a "college within a college" approach might prove effective. This approach has been recommended in the Ford Foundation Report on Minorities in Higher Education (1982).

Literacy and the Pervasiveness of Instrumental Bitting

It can be argued that written language in our society is becoming better integrated with oral language as well as with other aspects of the social and physical setting. It would be strange indeed if Americans needed or developed the same reading and writing skills in a post television era as they did when most information and entertainment came through the printed word. It would be equally peculiar if 60% of the population could be taught and would find worth learning the same type of literacy considered appropriate for 15% a generation ago.

The forms and functions of written language are changing rapidly. Our standards for assessing individual competencies, however, remain firmly tied to the standardized examination developed in a cultural context that predated many current forms of information transfer and discourse. The classrooms at Oakwood were engaged in promoting a functional form of literacy not adequately envisioned by those who interpret scores on standardized exams as implying the imminent collapse of the literate society.

Understanding the negative as well as positive aspects of current trends in language usage is a preliminary step to revising literacy-related instruction. Concepts of transactional literacy, properly applied, hold promise of making our teaching of language skills more powerful and functional for students as well as enhancing their opportunities for success in all areas of life.

Implications for Research

Literacy

If research efforts such as the one reported here continue in a variety of societal contexts, an ethnology of literacy may be possible. Ethnology is the comparative study of cultural phenomena which seeks generalizable principles by comparing and contrasting the findings of numerous context-specific studies. Literacy has been studied in a variety of work, school, and community settings and already there is an indication that these studies are contributing to a consistent view of the nature of literacy in contemporary society. To further this effort, communication among literacy researchers can be strengthened. Studies can be designed based on theoretical samples to explicitly try to test or refine developing hypotheses about literacy. Coordinating research efforts can lead to refinement of methods and clarity of discussion.

In particular, we suggest that literacy research be conducted at other two-year colleges and the lower division levels of four-year colleges and universities to determine if the changes we observed are occurring at different rates in the two environments. By examining the pervasiveness of bitting, contrast cases could be developed contributing further to an understanding of the transactional view of literacy we have proposed. Work as well as academic settings for which community college students are preparing require study if any conclusions are to be reached about the relative advantages or disadvantages of the emphasis on bitting vis-a-vis job preparation and initial performance.

Most studies of transfer students currently available were completed prior to the changes in mission emphasis and clientele characteristics of the past decade. The impact of changing literacy demands in the community college needs to be assessed in terms of performance and persistence at the transfer institution. These studies need to be related to the effort to determine the relative emphasis on texting and bitting in two year and four year college settings.

In a different direction, it would be important to study literacy in educational settings which may be competitors of various community college programs such as proprietary schools or in-house education in business and industry. It might be expected that these programs emphasize instrumental bitting even more strongly but perhaps this is not so.

Another needed direction of literacy research is the investigation of literacy in the home settings of varying subcultures in our population. Of particular interest to the interpretation of our findings would be studies in the home situations of subgroups of community college students.

If instrumental bitting is the norm, this gives rise to several questions that need further investigation. Where and how does this form of literacy begin to take shape and what contribution to its development do various home and school experiences make?

Of course, cross cultural studies of literacy can provide the dramatic contrast cases to challenge and stretch our understanding. It is hoped that naturalistic multidisciplinary studies of literacy will continue on a world-wide basis.

Motivational Orientations

We encourage studies focusing on the motivational orientations of current and potential clientele of community college. We found the notion of motivational orientation to be central to our understanding of literacy and of classroom activity. Much work is needed both to test our overall findings and to elaborate the critical features of the concept itself. If reliable procedures and instruments can be devised to measure orientations to courses (see Eison, 1981), much can be learned about the nature of the student populations and the changes in orientation that might occur as a result of various experiences on the campuses.

In addition, we only began to investigate the motivational orientations of instructors. The information we do have would indicate that faculty orientations toward their role may be complex, problematic, and changing. Since faculty occupy a pivotal position, interacting with both students and administrators a better understanding of their perspective is crucial to an adequate understanding of the community college and the literacy it is promoting both directly and indirectly.

Institutional Context

Little is known about the effects of systematically varying such factors as class size, objectives of participants, ability levels and faculty commitment on literacy. To the extent that we have any information at all, it has been derived from ability groupings. Our study suggests that participants' objectives may be as important as their abilities. Research is needed to examine the correlates of academic achievement other than aptitude if administrators are to receive better information about the impact of their decisions on literacy and the educational program.

The process of accommodation to nontraditional clientele needs verification. If the cycle reported here can be verified for other institutions, possibilities for intervention both from external and internal influences suggest themselves. We need additional information on the effectiveness of remedial programs in promoting the development of basic skills. We need any information that may be available about observable outcomes for developmental programs that aim at self-actualization or socialization in addition to improvement of basic skills. What is the public interest in such programs and how can that interest be translated into funding formulas?

We also need information on the outcomes of programs that confine their objectives to remediation. What should be the criteria for evaluating such programs? To what extent do current programs achieve such criteria, for how large a percentage of those who enter? What happens to those in need of remediation who don't get it as contrasted with those who do? What cost-benefit ratios exist for investments in remediation - at the high school level? - in community colleges? - among four-year colleges and universities?

The same arguments have been made to support access to community colleges as those advanced for enhancing literacy. What are the observable benefits of attending a community college? Do these benefits accrue independent of changes in basic skills? Are there alternatives that would provide similar benefits for lower costs?

The Consequences of Literacy

There is need for basic research concerned with the connection between reading and writing and cognition. Although a strong connection has been assumed relatively little is known about what effect written language has on thinking. Scribner and Jacob (1980) designed experimental studies of cognition grounded in an ethnographic study of written language in a dairy. They are investigating the effect of repeated use of certain written forms on preferred analytic procedures. More broad-based multidisciplinary studies of this sort are needed drawing methods from psychology, sociology, and anthropology to illuminate the relationships between written language use and cognition. Research could also be done on the relationship among various types of literacy and the ways in which these varying forms of literacy are acquired. Are texting and bitting separate abilities that are learned and developed independently or do they both rely on some more fundamental reading ability?

There is already a long tradition of historical studies which have attempted to investigate the impact of literacy on the overall prosperity, political and social structure, and cultural activity of a society. Of special interest is research on the impact of increased literacy on the social mobility of individuals. However, this research has produced conflicting results and has been based largely on trait views of literacy measured indirectly through such indicators as years of schooling. Research on the economic and social consequences of literacy could produce more valuable and valid results if a transactional definition of literacy was used along with multiple methods, including qualitative approaches. Macro-level analysis of societal aspects of literacy can be effectively coordinated with more micro-level work within specific contexts for a more detailed but nontrivial understanding of literacy as in this study.

Conclusion

The community college is little more than a microcosm of the larger society from which it came. The philosopic mandate to be "all things to all people" has produced a curriculum that incorporates all facets of human knowledge for which there is any demand for a structured learning experience. The reading and writing expectations for a non-selective clientele cannot depart too markedly from those prevailing in the larger society without driving off students who are needed to finance the enterprise.

There is, of course, nothing wrong with offering people what they want in a convenient and easily accessible format. The problems arise when it comes time to determine how the costs shall be shared. Some of the activities of a community college are fundamental to preservation of our great ideals as a democratic republic and so deserve the highest consideration in public funding. Others seem primarily to contribute to the life satisfaction of individuals who already have more than their share and hence can make little claim for additional public subsidy. The problem is that by design or accident, everything has been made to look as much like everything else as possible. When you are doing good for people it is hard to know where to draw the line.

But lines must be drawn when resources are scarce and where the lines are drawn is vitally important to community colleges and those they serve. Emphasis on further reductions in the separation between college and community, as many community college leaders advocate, may produce an institution that no longer articulates with the four year colleges and universities which continue to serve as gate keepers for high status occupations. At the same time a return to the transfer oriented junior college concept no longer seems possible.

One direction suggested by this study involves identification of the literacy demands of the workplace and transfer institutions to which community college students ultimately go. Using methodologies similar to the one we employed, community colleges may be able to differentiate among programs in terms of relative emphasis on prototypical as distinct from functional literacy. Grouping students and faculty according to objectives as well as aptitudes may reduce some of the problems associated with extreme diversity. Certainly, such an approach would be consistent with the emphasis on achievement and quality that has begun to characterize the current decade.

Finally, there is some need for a better understanding of the varieties of literacy and when each may be appropriate. The use of student performance on standardized tests to evaluate schools whose responsibilities have shifted to teaching students how to use reading and writing in a social setting to accomplish group goals, is not as much wrong as irrelevant. If society wants its schools to emphasize such functional activities as driver education, sex and family life, and free enterprise; the appropriate method of evaluating outcomes would involve such measures as passing driver exams, marrying and raising a family successfully and avoiding advocacy for socialism. Widening the breadth of activities inevitably reduces the emphasis on any specific competency.

Schools can teach reading, writing and numeracy skills or they can offer a broad range of content through efficient instrumental bitting procedures. All of the evidence to date indicates they cannot do both and preserve the standards of individual performance which characterized an earlier era with a less cluttered curriculum. The choice of relative emphasis is a matter for public policy. Hopefully, this study will contribute by describing the phenomena and by identifying relevant alternatives for informed policy on literacy and the community college.

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METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX: ADMINISTRATION

The instrument used in this study, the Attitude Toward District Priority Inventory (ADPI) was a twenty-three item questionnaire consisting of two parts (see attached). Terms in the ADPI were defined and measured as follows:

> Goal Commitment - Expressed attitudes towards specific educational action taken to accomplish goals as expressed on five items on the Attitude Toward District Priority Inventory (ADPI).[1] Commitment level for a particular goal is determined by summing the responses to the five point Likert scale on the five items and dividing by five to arrive at a commitment scale which ranges from a low of one, indicating low commitment, to a score of five for a high commitment rating. Goal commitment and Priority commitment are interchangeable.
>
> Priority Commitment - Same as goal commitment.
>
> Administrative Actions - Activities, behaviors, or methods used by administrators to implement identified educational goals or priorities. Perceptions of these activities are expressed in eight of the thirteen items on the ADPI. Perception level for a particular activity was expressed by responding to the five point Likert scale with a range of one to five where one indicates a low visibility and a score of five reflects high visibility for any one administrative action.
>
> Organizational Activity - Involvement in college or district standing committees or task forces, plus involvement in staff development activities such as district or college sponsored seminars, workshops, conferences or training sessions; measured by summing the yes responses to a ten item question on organizational activities with a scale range of zero for no organizational activities to ten for the highest score possible.
>
> Tenure - Length of time in the organization as measured in number of years the individual has been employed in the district.

The first section of the survey tool was constructed to collect data in two areas: on faculty attitudes toward four identified educational goals, and on faculty perceptions of administrative actions to facilitate achievement of these four goals. The second part provided information on faculty participation in the organization such as involvement in committee work and participating in staff development activities.

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[1] Originally, the commitment index was based on six items. However, following a varimax rotated factor analysis using the thirteen variable clusters across the four priorities, two distinct variable clusters emerged. One group included the seven items reflecting the seven original administrative strategies. The other cluster was comprised of only five goal attitude statements. Loading minimally on the second variable cluster was the sixth attitude statement about progress toward goal achievement. As a result of these findings, the final commitment index was based on five, not six of the attitude statements. Progress toward a goal seemed to be more related to perception of administrative strategies or visibility of administrators action, and this statement was grouped with the other statements on administrative strategies.

The first part of this questionnaire consisted of thirteen statements directed toward the four district educational goals or priorities identified as important to the district during the previous three years. The questionnaire was designed to collect discrete and separate responses to the thirteen statements for each of these four goals. These goals were:

1. Serving New Clientele - attracting new and diverse students and responding to their needs.
2. Developmental Education - strengthening basic skills for underprepared students.
3. Student Retention - keeping students in school.
4. Occupational Education - preparing students for entry level jobs or improving skills for those already employed.

Five of the statements were designed to reflect attitude orientations toward these four goals. They form the basis of the commitment index used in this study to measure faculty commitment levels. These five attitude statements with corresponding commitment measure constructs are depicted in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Items on the ADPI which reflect attitude orientations toward educational goals and corresponding commitment measurement constructs

Items Reflecting Attitude Orientations Toward the Specific Educational Goals	Commitment Measurement Constructs
A top priority for this district should be . . .	Perceived appropriateness of the goal, and acceptance of the goal
I have tried to convince others of the importance of . . .	Verbal support for the goal
I have actively supported efforts to promote . . .	Verbal and behavioral support for the goal
I have changed some of my practices to support emphases on . . .	Behavioral support for the goal
I feel more positive about this priority than I did three years ago . . .	Identification with the goal

The remaining items in Part One reflect the perceived use of eight administrative actions for each of the four identified educational goals. The eight items with corresponding administrative actions that they reflect are listed in Figure 2. The response format for the thirteen attitude statements was a five point Likert scale with the following response options: strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, and strongly disagree.

The second part of the ADPI consisted of ten items to measure faculty participation in organizational activities. Respondents were requested to check the appropriate boxes if they had participated in any District or College standing committee or task force or participated in any district or college sponsored seminars, workshops, conferences or training sessions using a yes/no format. Each check mark indicated a yes response and the absence of a mark was treated as a no response.

Figure 2

Items on the ADPI reflecting perception of administrative actions directed toward achievement of specific educational goals with corresponding actions.

Items Reflecting Perception of Administrative Actions Implemented to Achieve Specific Educational Goals	Administrative Action
Recruitment of new staff has been used to aid . . .	Hiring new staff
The results of evaluating outcomes of current practices have been used to strengthen . . .	Use of Evaluation
Reorganization (Creating new structures or changing existing ones) has been used to improve . . .	Reorganization
Formal planning procedures have been used to advance . . .	Planning
Staff development has been used to encourage . . .	Staff development
Lack of funds has hindered efforts to achieve . . .	Resource allocation
Staff has been reassigned to support emphasis on . . .	Reassignment of staff
Progress has been made in achieving . . .	General administrative support and action

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted to evaluate the format and clarity of both the directions and statements of the ADPI. Administered to a group of district and college administrators, the survey tool was revised to reflect their verbal and written comments. Attitude statements were clarified, and the format was reduced in size to the final instrument. The most frequent comments concerned the time it took to complete the survey tool. Change in format reduced this time considerably.

Administration of ADPI

The ADPI was one of two instruments distributed together with a cover letter from the District Chancellor's office signed jointly by the District Chancellor and the Faculty Executive Council President.

Each subject received a packet containing: 1) the above described cover letter, 2) a second letter explaining both the purpose of the surveys and their relation to the ongoing Literacy Development Project. This letter was signed by the project director (see attached), 3) instructions on completing a communication survey, 4) the one page Attitude Toward District Priority Inventory, and 5) a return envelope.

The method chosen for distributing the survey tool was the established interdistrict mailing system. Packets were hand carried to the district and campus mailrooms where they were distributed to the respective individual mail boxes. Completed questionnaires enclosed in the envelopes provided were returned to a campus or district mailrooms where they were collected.

A total of 957 questionnaires were distributed in November, 1980; 226 to administrators and 731 to faculty. Measures to reduce non-responses included post cards sent to non-responders three weeks after the initial mailing and a second mailing of the survey to all non-responders six weeks after the mailing. Most responses were received by March 1, 1981 (39%). Several survey tools were received as late as the first week in May and were also included in the analysis. The number of returned questionnaires was 401 or 42%.

Insurance of anonymity for respondents was not possible due to the nature of the communication data requested on the communications survey. However, the cover letter assured confidentiality to the respondents as well as reporting of aggregate data only.

Coding and Transfer of Data to IBM Disk

The following process was implemented to code and transfer data from the ADPI and district records to an IBM Disk for processing.

1. All returned questionnaires were checked to insure that all questions were completed and that only one answer was recorded for each statement. Where there were two or more responses to any of the thirteen statements, or where the respondent's check mark fell between two of the five scale ratings, the highest response was selected. For instance, if a respondent checked both agree and strongly agree, the strongly agree response was selected. Attitude statements with no responses checked on the returned forms were coded "0". Four-hundred and one questionnaires were suitable for further processing.

2. Results of the questionnaire, plus the personal data information available from district office records were placed on an IBM disk in IBM card format (see attached). It was necessary to use two cards for each individual. The first seven columns of each card were reserved for the job identification number, respondent's identification number and card number. Card number one included the following demographic data: campus location, sex, ethnicity, birth year, employment year, highest degree earned, job number, member status, grade, discipline, and staff development records. District recorded participation in staff development activities was coded in the following manner: a) total number of staff development activities participated in during the past three years (August, 1978 through December, 1980) and b) total number of staff development activities for each of the following years: 1978, 1979, and 1980.

Responses to the thirteen attitude statements for each of the four goals were recorded on card two in column eight through 59. Column 60 through 72 included responses to the self-reported organizational and staff development participation activity.

Description of the Sample

Descriptive statistics were used to determine the characteristics of the study sample. A comparison of respondent demographic data with total population demographic data revealed similar characteristics for both.

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics were used to provide profiles of the attitudes toward the four educational goals both in the district as a whole and on the individual campuses and to answer the following questions:

1. What attitudes are expressed by faculty toward specific educational goals?
2. What are faculty perceptions of administrative action taken to achieve specific educational goals?

The basic distributional characteristics of each of the five goal attitude statements and the eight administrative action perception statements as measured by the ADPI were determined. The range of values, mean, median, mode, and standard deviation values were computed. In addition, the responses were computed in percentages for comparison purposes. Likewise, involvement in organizational activity was described.

In addition to reporting these results for the total sample, sub-sample analyses were made through selection and cross-tabulation techniques by age, gender, educational level, campus location, and organizational participation.

To answer the research question "How committed are faculty to specific educational goals", a commitment index was computed by summing the responses to the five statements for a particular goal and dividing by five resulting in four separate priority commitment scores ranging from a low of zero or the absence of commitment to a high of five or the maximum level of commitment.

Descriptive statistical techniques were used to describe the existence of commitment in the total District and in each of the campuses by reporting the frequencies, means, and standard deviations for these indices by specific goals. Again, selection and cross-tabulation techniques were applied for each goal commitment for sub-grouping by age, gender, educational level, and organizational participation.

To answer the research question concerning the relationship between faculty commitment to a specific goal and a number of other variables a correlation/regression framework was used. Multiple regression analysis, a statistical technique through which the relationship between a dependent or criterion variable and a set of independent or predictor variables can be analyzed, was used as a descriptive tool by which the linear dependence of one variable on others was summarized and reduced. The independent variables were age, gender, educational level, tenure, perception of administrative strategies, organizational participation, teaching discipline (such as liberal arts and humanities, business, allied health and applied sciences, mathematics, and natural and social sciences), and the communication data. The communication data used were the number of times an individual was listed and the number of contacts listed. The administrative strategies chosen for each equation were only those eight that related to the specific goal under consideration. The dependent variables were the commitment index for each of the four goals.

Using the SPSS regression program, an initial correlation matrix was generated for all variables for the four specific educational goals. Following this, a forward inclusion regression analysis was run entering all independent variables.

PRIORITIES AND PLANNING ACTIVITIES
JOINT COUNCIL ON EDUCATIONAL PRIORITIES
OF
RICHFIELD COMMUNITY COLLEGE DISTRICT

INTRODUCTION: THE IMMEDIATE PRIORITY

From the Charrette Presidential Papers

While there is a common recognition of the need for continuous educational planning and priority setting at the Colleges and the District, immediate decisions are required on these priorities accompanied by budgetary commitments and timetables for implementing plans. The Governing Board must make a commitment to priorities which provide the needed direction.

PART 1. PRIORITIES FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

A. Occupational Education

Emphasis on Occupational Education

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that policies and procedures be developed that provide programs for job-ready training which minimize the completion time required and maximize the skill development to meet job market demands.

Charrette Reinforces Need for Decisions

Occupational education will become an increasingly important component of the Colleges' educational programming. This has been recognized in the Colleges' plans and priorities, but direction has to be provided in order to deal with the problems of:

*Class Scheduling
*Allocating Programs
*Facilities
*Equipment
*Staffing
*Serving a large and growing area
*Meeting needs of employers
*Coping with new and expanding technologies
*Articulation with other educational institutions
*High expense programs where duplication is not feasible
 (i.e. Allied Health)

Role of __________ in Occupational Education

These problems are too complex to be decided individually by six different campuses. A decision on the future role of __________ Community College is a key factor affecting the solutions to the problems cited. The Charrette Report recommended that the District:

> REVITALIZE __________, WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE SPECIALIZED COLLEGE FOR OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION.

The recommendation also states that __________ should administer and operate:

(1) New and existing one-of-a-kind occupational programs.
(2) Area occupational centers.
(3) All new and existing Allied Health Programs. (Nursing programs would continue at existing locations.)

B. Developmental Education

Emphasis Needed

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that plans and programs for developmental education begin immediately.

Charrette
Provides
Reason and
Scope...

Since the Richfield District has endorsed the "open door" policy which admits students of varying preparation, it must attend to developmental education. It is necessary that such a program of education complement the developmental concept in terms of a comprehensive, integrated, and coordinated effort without sacrificing human dignity.

And Provides
A New
Definition

The College programs for developmental education should adopt the following definition:

> Developmental education is characterized as an interdisciplinary approach to provide academic and social skills for students in an integrated environment. It includes verbal and quantitative skills and develops self-reliance through the improvement of self-image. Developmental education recognizes acculturation and its effects on learning. It seeks to take students with ability/potential and improve their skills to enable them to achieve their educational goals.

C. General/Transfer Education

A New
Priority
From the
Charrette

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that general education and transfer courses retain their important place in the overall program of the Colleges and that such courses be developed or revised as changing needs dictate. It is recognized that the same courses may be used for different purposes by different students: That is, for one student the course might serve an occupational purpose, for a second it might be a transfer course, and for a third it might serve a general education purpose.

Transfer
Education
Is Part of
Our Mission

A significant omission in the original __________ Report is the community college's responsibility in the area of transfer programs. Transfer programs have been, and will continue to be, a very important part of our educational mission. Maintaining a current high level of our regular transfer programs is certainly a priority.

D. Student Personnel Services

Charrette
View on
Student

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that the role and functions of Student Personnel Services be identified and communicated throughout the individual Colleges and the District through such processes as seminars, charrettes, and the dissemination of reports.

Personnel
Services

It was felt that Student Personnel Services were not addressed enough or highlighted in the original __________ Report, and there is a need for this emphasis because of a lack of understanding of the role of Student Personnel Services.

E. Student Retention

Improve
Retention
Rates

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that a thorough investigation be made of the causes of student attrition within and between semesters, and that plans be implemented, as soon as possible, to improve the rate of student retention.

Charrette Recommends A Beginning

An improved understanding of the causes of student attrition should begin with an investigation of our students' dissatisfaction with the services provided. This should be done in a pilot study conducted over the next two years.

F. Attracting New Clientele

Students Not Presently Being Served

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that plans and activities to attract new clientele continue to expand at the colleges. The "new clientele" includes those identified as the physically, economically, socially, or educationally disadvantaged, as well as others who traditionally have not been served.

Charrette Revisions Underlined

A review of existing demographic data and an assessment of the educational needs of the potential students should lead to plans and actions which attempt to match or relate College programs to the needs of unserved clientele.

G. Ongoing Assessment and Identification of the Clientele Groups to be Served

Charrette Revision Includes Manpower Needs

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that College and District planning should include assessments of the community and of the manpower needs from an employer's point of view in order to properly serve existing and new student groups. An assessment of educational needs ensures relevant and balanced program development.

H. Improved Delivery Systems

Revised Charrette Recommendation

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that delivery systems be continually reviewed, improved where indicated, and/or developed to better meet the needs of a diverse student population. Methods of instruction, possibly involving new technologies, should be tried, and plans should be made for implementing proven methods.

Consortium for Sharing

The Colleges should assume a leadership role in the creation of a statewide consortium so that resources (i.e. people, materials, and programs) can be shared. New delivery systems which involve educational technology have multiple uses, and the District must develop effective ways to share these systems and materials with the State.

I. Program of Community Involvement

Gaining Support and Involvement

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that a broadly based program of community involvement be initiated. In addition to effective public relations which articulate the educational and cultural services of the College to the community, the colleges should seek the active participation of community members, business/industry and other educational and governmental agencies.

J. Delineation of Functions and Responsibilities

Procedure and Role Responsibilities

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that a program be established which examines and delineates the functions and responsibilities of the Board, Administration (District and Colleges), Faculty and Staff. While work is in progress to recodify and clarify Board Policy, attention should now be focused on

Procedure and Role Responsibilities (Continued)

developing procedures and defining the respective responsibilities which effectively implement Board Policy.

K. Increased Resources for Faculty and Staff Development

Staff Development For Change

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that increased resources be allocated for faculty and staff development. The Council believes that the level of expenditure for staff development will need to increase significantly to match the magnitude of educational change recommended for this District.

Charrette Cites Lifelong Learning Needs of District Employees

Staff development must be provided with a focus on retraining staff in instructional areas and support services. With changing clientele and the infusion of new delivery systems, the District must demonstrate a commitment to the lifelong, learning needs of the people who comprise the organization. The District recognizes the value of the people within the organization and feels that staff development is critical to the maintenance of its vitality.

L. Funding New Concepts

Encouraging New Ideas

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that the District provide a more flexible and responsive system for funding the exploration and implementation of new concepts. Exploring ways to improve instruction or implementing the changes implied by new District priorities can be made more effective by improved funding strategies. For example, attention could be directed towards special problem areas in occupational education such as flexible time scheduling, more efficient use of facilities, and moving away from lock-stepped lecture/lab combinations.

M. Develop a Systematic Process of Evaluation

Measure of Effectiveness

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that a systematic process of evaluation be implemented which measures the effectiveness of the District program. The current activity of setting District goals and priorities should create a standard of measurement from which a more comprehensive plan of evaluation can evolve.

Charrette Calls for Student Follow-Up

Planning will not succeed unless an evaluation program is an integral part of educational activities. The District needs to know what it is doing for the student and how well it has served. A better student follow-up system is a necessity, because ultimately, the criterion of success is the measure of the effect education has had on students.

N. Improved Communications

Charrette Amplifies Original Recommendations

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that communications be improved whereby the unexpected is eliminated. Efforts must be made in the planning and priority setting activities of the Colleges and the District to incorporate more effective formal and informal communications channels in order to reach those staff directly affected by change. Improved communications are needed at the Colleges and the District to keep staff, students, and community members informed.

O. Providing Quicker Access and Better Service

Improved Access and Information Services

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that quicker access to the educational services of the College be provided by having on-line registration. The Joint Council on Educational Priorities also recommends that better informational services be provided by having improved Management Information Systems. These two Improved recommendations are grouped as one item because they relate, in the main, to improved computer services. With the planned expansion of District computer capability, the Council believes that on-line registration and better management information should be the planning priorities for the computer or data processing department of the District.

PART II. EXTENDED PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES

A. Educational Planning

Direction for Educational Planning

The Joint Council on Educational Priorities recommends that a District Educational Master Plan be developed. The development of the Educational Master Plan should continue as an ongoing and intensified process. Individual College Plans should be developed and incorporated as part of the District Educational Master Plan. The College Plans should include the following components:

Dear Colleague:

The enclosed survey was prepared by a research team at Arizona State University. For the past two years, this team has been studying the development of literacy skills in the _________ Community College District under the terms of a contract with the National Institute of Education. The _________ has encouraged and supported the effort.

The accompanying survey is a part of this effort. The survey has been reviewed by the Chancellor's Executive Council, the Faculty Association Executive Board, and a number of departmental chairs from across the District. Their suggestions have been incroporated into the final design of the survey. We believe the data yielded by the survey will be useful to administrators and faculty in the _________. We have worked with the researchers over an extended period and are confident they will continue to observe all appropriate Federal and University regulations on the conduct of research involving human subjects, including the complete confidentiality of individual responses.

We encourage you to complete and return the survey so that the information reported to faculty and administrators in this District can be as complete and accurate as possible.

Sincerely,

Chancelllor

,President
Faculty Executive Council

ARIZONA STATE
UNIVERSITY TEMPE, ARIZONA 85281
DEPARTMENT OF HIGHER AND ADULT EDUCATION
LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE (602) 965-2118 965-2412

Dear Staff Member:

For the past three years, in cooperation with administrators and faculty from the County Community College District, we have been studying the learning process and support services at one college of the District. Our methodology has involved participant observation, interviews and materials analysis. As we move toward the midpoint of our final year, we need information about relationships between such variables as communication patterns and faculty attitudes toward District priorities. This survey like all of our research has been designed with extensive District input to ensure that it serves your needs as well as ours.

Your answers to the questions which follow will allow us to map the communication linkages among faculty and administrators and to determine attitudes toward four important priorities, (1) Serving new clientele - attracting a "new clientele" and responding to their needs, (2) Developmental Education - strengthening basic skills, (3) Student Retention - keeping students in school, and (4) Occupational Education - preparing students for entry level jobs or improving skills of those already employed. All responses will be kept confidential. Only aggregate data will be reported.

The time required to complete this survey is about thirty minutes. In return for your assistance, we will provide you with answers to the following questions:

1. How do faculty and administrators receive information about priorities of the District on the different campuses?
2. What attitudes are expressed toward District priorities by faculty and administrators on the different campuses?
3. To what extent do faculty and administrators on the different campuses indicate a willingness to support District priorities?
4. Are there significant differences in communication patterns or attitudes among the campuses of the District?

Please seal this survey in the attached, addressed envelope and return it to a campus or the District mailroom. A representative from the Research Project will collect the envelopes from the mailrooms.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Richard C. Richardson, Jr.
Project Director
Literacy Development in the
Community College

RCRbac

Communication

Instructions

1. To complete this survey you will need the rosters of full-time faculty and administrators for each College and for the District Office. These rosters are enclosed.

2. Please write your name, roster number and check your assignment.

   Name:_________________________________ No:_______________

   Administration_____ Faculty _____ Department/Division Chair_____

3. Go through the rosters for each campus and write on the attached Personal Contact Checklist the names of those with whom you communicate about District goals and priorities related to the educational programs. Also write in the identification number which appears beside that person's name on the roster. (Communication includes face-to-face conversations, formal or informal meetings, memos, letters, phone calls, etc.)

4. For each name, indicate the frequency of contact by entering the appropriate number in the Frequency column.

5. For each name, indicate the importance of your communication by entering the appropriate number in the Importance column.

6. In the example given, the respondent communicates with Johnny Hughes, roster identification number 27, once a semester and attaches low importance to the communication. In contrast, communication with Mary Flores, roster number 52, occurs once a week and is considered to be of high importance.

7. When you have completed the Personal Contact Checklist, please continue to the Attitude Survey.

PERSONAL CONTACT CHECKLIST

Record the name and number of individuals with whom you communicate about the District goals and priorities related to the educational program. Then indicate the frequency and importance of those communications.

FREQUENCY: 3-Once a week
2-Once a month
1-Once a semester

IMPORTANCE 1 (low) 2 3 4 5 (high)

NAME AND NUMBER	DISTRICT GOALS AND PRIORITIES		NAME AND NUMBER	DISTRICT GOALS AND PRIORITIES	
	FREQUENCY	IMPORTANCE		FREQUENCY	IMPORTANCE
SAMPLE Johnny Hughes (27)	1	1			
Mary flores (52)	3	5			

Please go on to the next page.

ATTITUDES TOWARD DISTRICT PRIORITIES

The following priorities have been identified as important to the District during the last three years:

SERVICING NEW CLIENTELE:	Attracting new clientele and responding to their needs.
DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION:	Strengthening basic skills for underprepared students.
STUDENT RETENTION:	Keeping students in school.
OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION:	Preparing students for entry level jobs or improving skills for those already employed.

	PRIORITIES																			
	SERVING NEW CLIENTELE					DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION					STUDENT RETENTION					OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION				
STATEMENTS (Indicate your response to each statement by placing a check in the appropriate column for each priority)	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. A top priority for this District should be																				
2. I have changed some of my practices to support emphasis on .																				
3. Recruitment of new staff has been used to aid																				
4. I have tried to convince others of the importance of																				
5. I have actively supported efforts to promote																				
6. The results of evaluating outcomes of current practices have been used to strengthen																				
7. Reorganization (creating new structures or changing existing ones) has been used to improve																				
8. I feel more positive about this priority than I did three years ago																				
9. Progress has been made in achieving																				
10. Formal planning procedures have been used to advance																				
11. Staff development has been used to encourage																				
12. A lack of funds has hindered efforts to achieve																				
13. Staff has been reassigned to support emphasis on																				

PARTICIPATION INFORMATION: Check the appropriate boxes if you have participated in any of the following in the past two years.

COMMITTEES

☐ District Standing Committees; ☐ District Task Forces; ☐ College Standing Committees; ☐ College Task Forces;

☐ Other (please specify) ____________________

DISTRICT OR COLLEGE SPONSORED ACTIVITIES

☐ Seminars; ☐ Workshops; ☐ Conferences; ☐ Training Sessions;

☐ Other (please specify) ____________________

Coding Key for Diskatt 1
(in ATM 30)

Card # 1

Column	Label	Codes	Comments	
1-2	Job I.D.	66	Constant	
3-5	Subject/Respondent I.D.	001-961	Roster # - 3 digits	
6-7	Card #	1	Constant	
8	Campus Location	0-7	0-district 1-GCC 2-MTCC 3-MCC	4-PC 5-RSCC 6-SCC 7-SMCC
9-20	Last Name, First Initial			
21	Sex	0,1	0-Male	1-Female
22	Ethnicity	0-5	0-White 1-Black 2-Hispanic	3-Indian 4-Asian 5-Unknown
23-24	Birth Year		Last two digits of year of birth, i.e., 1940	
25-26	Employment Year		Same as for birth year	
27	Degree	0-5	0-Unknown 1-None 2-A.A.	3-B.A. 4-M.A. 5-Dr.
28-30	Job #		3 digits from printout	
31	Member Status	0-4	0-Faculty 1-Administrator 2-Past Administrator	3-Joint Appointments 4-Department Chairs
32-33	Grade		2 digits from printout	
34-36	Discipline		See Curriculum Code Sheet	
37-38	Staff Development (SD) Participation Total	0-99	From District SD records	
39-40	SD Activity - 1980		From District Records	
41-42	SD Activity - 1979		From District Records	
43-44	SD Activity - 1978		From District Records	
45	Organizational Level	0-9	See Rick Walsh	

Card # 2

1-2	Job #	666	Constant
3-5	Subject/Respondent #	001-961	3 digit Roster #
6-7	Card #	2	Constant
8	Question #1-SNC	1-5	1-Strongly Agree (SA)
9	Question #1-DE		2-Agree (A)
10	Question #1-SR		3-Undecided (U)
11	Question #1-OE		4-Disagree (D) 5-Strongly Disagree (SD)
12	Question #2-SNC	1-5	Same as Questions 8-11
13	Question #2-DE		
14	Question #2-SR		
15	Question #2-OE		
16	Question #3-SNC	1-5	Same as Questions 8-11
17	Question #3-DE		
18	Question #3-SR		
19	Question #3-OE		

J. Stengel
September 16, 1981

Coding Key for Diskatt 1
(Continued)

Card # 2 (cont.)

Column	Label	Codes	Comments
20	Question #4-SNC	1-5	1-Strongly Agree (SA)
21	Question #4-DE		2-Agree (A)
22	Question #4-SR		3-Undecided (U)
23	Question #4-OE		4-Disagree (D)
			5-Strongly Disagree (SD)
24	Question #5-SNC	1-5	Same as Questions 20-23
25	Question #5-DE		
26	Question #5-SR		
27	Question #5-OE		
28	Question #6-SNC	1-5	Same as Questions 20-23
29	Question #6-DE		
30	Question #6-SR		
31	Question #6-OE		
32	Question #7-SNC	1-5	Same as Questions 20-23
33	Question #7-DE		
34	Question #7-SR		
35	Question #7-OE		
36	Question #8-SNC	1-5	Same as Questions 20-23
37	Question #8-DE		
38	Question #8-SR		
39	Question #8-OE		
40	Question #9-SNC	1-5	Same as Questions 20-23
41	Question #9-DE		
42	Question #9-SR		
43	Question #9-OE		
44	Question #10-SNC	1-5	Same as Questions 20-23
45	Question #10-DE		
46	Question #10-SR		
47	Question #10-DE		
48	Question #11-SNC	1-5	Same as Questions 20-23
49	Question #11-DE		
50	Question #11-SR		
51	Question #11-DE		
52	Question #12-SNC	1-5	Same as Questions 20-23
53			
54			
55			
56	Question #13-SNC	1-5	Same as Questions 20-23
57			
58			
59			
60	District Standing Committee	0,1	0-No 1-Yes
61	District Task Force	0,1	0-No 1-Yes
62	College Standing Committee	0,1	0-No 1-Yes
63	College TAsk Force	0,1	0-No 1-Yes
64	Other Committees	0,1	0-No 1-Yes
65	Seminars	0,1	0-No 1-Yes
66	Workshops	0,1	0-No 1-Yes
67	Conferences	0,1	0-No 1-Yes
68	Training Sessions	0,1	0-No 1-Yes
69	Other Activities	0,1	0-No 1-Yes
70	Blank		
71-72	Participation Frequency (self reported)	0-10	Total coded #1's from column 60 through 69

J. Stengel
September 16, 1981

APPENDIX

STRATEGIES FOR MAKING AN INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH TEAM MULTIDISCIPLINARY*

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* Data from the self-study reported here were collected by Nancy Elman. Portions of this appendix were presented at the 1981 American Anthropology Association Meeting (Brandt & Okun, Note 1).

Our original contract specified that we would develop implications for group educational research, including indications of how to mold an effective multidisciplinary team. However, during Year 1 of the project, the energies of the project staff were devoted to the production of required literature reviews and the development of the overall design of the study, including the conceptual and procedural frameworks. Little attention was paid at this time, then, to this area of concern which seemed somehow remote from the immediate day-to-day problems of the study of literacy demands, students, and community colleges.

On September 7, 1979, our Project Officer visited the project. His visit provided the stimulus for a concern with what he called "the bottom line". He considered the bottom line to be as important as the actual substantive research on community colleges and literacy, and challenged us to pay more attention to the research process. He suggested that a central issue was to find out what you couldn't find out by being multidisciplinary, to determine those positions where breaks of consensus occurred, and where they could be patched up as well as where they couldn't. He stressed the need to do self-questioning. This visit of the Project Officer provided stimulus for a self-study on how to make an interdisciplinary team multidisciplinary. Chapple (Note 2) has highlighted the crucial distinction between interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research:

> Multidisciplinary means combining several specialized branches of learning in one individual to the degree, at least, that in a project with several multidisciplinary participants, each knows what the other is talking about, even though one, for example, may have greater skills, say, in utilizing mathematical analysis than another (p. 2).

Organization of the Research Team

The organizational chart for the research coordinators during Year 1 is depicted in Figure 1. Of particular importance were the research coordinators' meetings. This provided the forum for the most heated exchanges among researchers. As one of our team members put the matter:

> Some people are more vociferous than others or more stubborn than others and I think it's true that people that are more forceful in expressing their ideas, their ideas tend to get more weight.

An abbreviated time line for the project appears in Figure 2. With foresight, the National Institute of Education provided us with a much needed planning year. We quote from our self-study:

> (1) Plan for a long incubation period before the team jells.
>
> (2) Provide preparation for a painful initial period when the team is in its embryonic stage.

However, it may be that a year for planning represents too much time:

> Collect some exploratory data early so that team members can use their disciplinary research methods while the design emerges. This will reduce frustration.

Methods

In the Spring of the second year of the three-year project, a non-team member (Nancy Elman) interviewed all research coordinators and two project staff (10). These interviews which normally lasted about one hour, were tape-recorded and transcribed. An open-ended interview schedule (attached) was used to focus inquiry. The purpose was to document the processes by which an interdisciplinary team worked through potential conflicts related to disciplinary perspectives, paradigms and methods-the-so-called "quantitative debate".

313

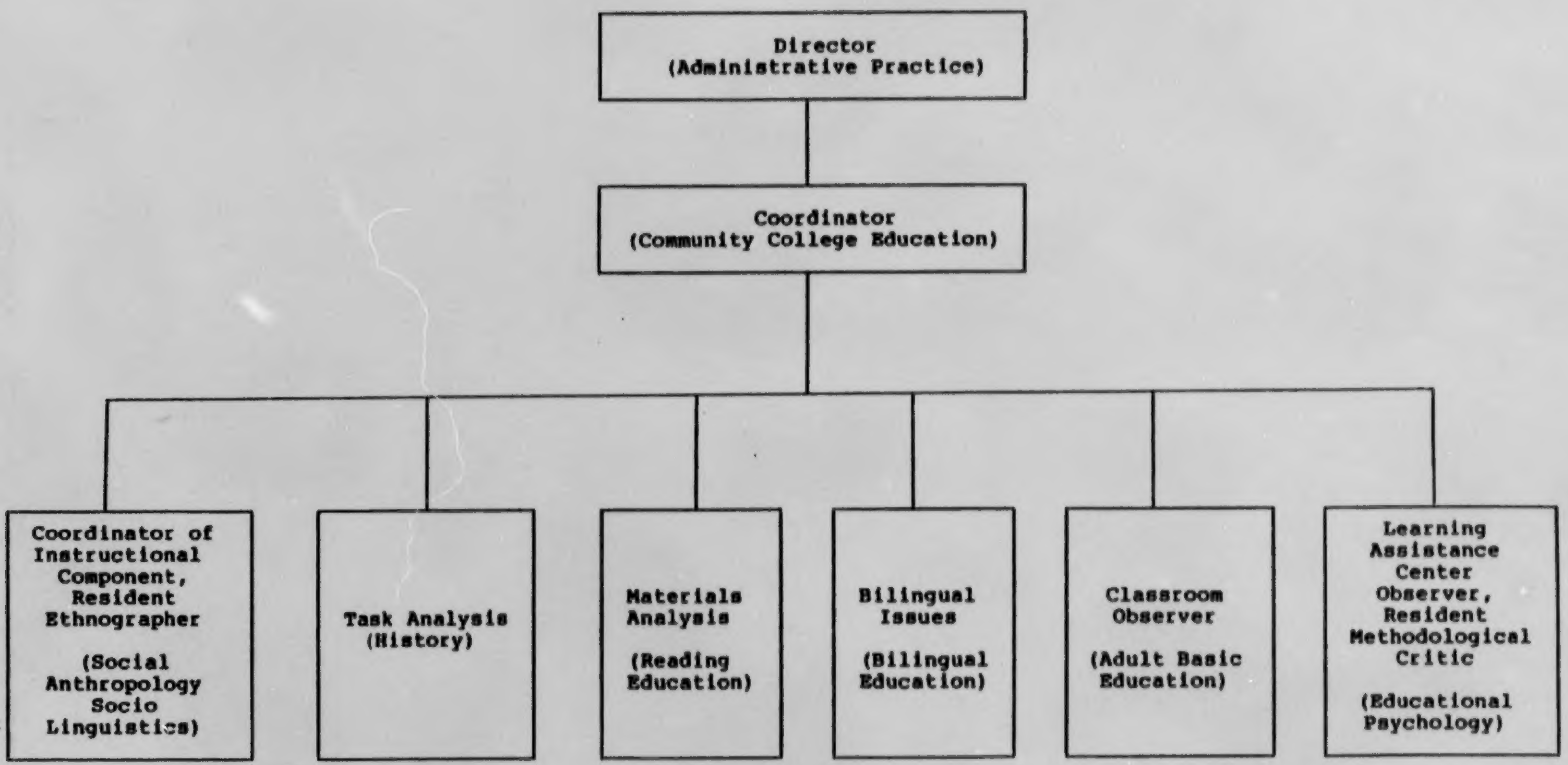
Director
(Administrative Practice)
Coordinator
(Community College Education)
Coordinator of Instructional Component, Resident Ethnographer
(Social Anthropology Socio Linguistics)
Task Analysis
(History)
Materials Analysis
(Reading Education)
Bilingual Issues
(Bilingual Education)
Classroom Observer
(Adult Basic Education)
Learning Assistance Center Observer, Resident Methodological Critic
(Educational Psychology)

Figure 1
Organizational Chart of Research Coordinators: Fall '78-Spring '79

Planning	Pilot Work	Field Work	Write Up
Fall '78-Spring '79	Summer '79	Fall '79-Fall '80	Spring '81-Fall '82

Figure 2
Abbreviated Project Time Line

Minutes were kept of all team meetings and some were taped. Minutes were sometimes kept of meetings by research components. The project also generated inordinate numbers of documents and reports. At the end of Year III of the project, a slightly modified questionnaire (attached) was given to each of the research coordinators. Replies were dictated and transcribed and a report summarizing the data was prepared by the same outside researcher who had conducted the first set of interviews. Brandt used these data to write an in-house report and also had the research coordinators fill out a short one-page self-description (attached). Some results of this self-study pertinent to developing a multidisciplinary research team are presented in the next section.

The Team Members and the Methodological Debate

During the first year of the project, there were eight research coordinators. Their professional orientations, as indicated in Figure 1, were: a) social anthropology/sociolinguistics; b) educational psychology; c) administrative practice; d) community college education; e) reading education; f) bilingual education; g) adult basic education; and h) history. The methodological debate over the ethnographic approach was carried on largely by the anthropologist and the psychologist, who were firmly entrenched in opposing world views.

This conflict echoed the conflict that has been reported in many educational journals (Rist, 1977; Rist, 1981). It was fundamentally centered on the definition of what we were studying and how we were to study it. The psychologist was interested in the interrelationships among discrete variables while the anthropologist was more concerned with the teaching and learning environment and what could actually be observed within it. Conflict continued from October to March. A resolution was affected in large part because of the cost and time involved in administering the large number of quantitative measures that had been proposed. We can, however, extract some recommendations and strategies for team members, especially at the early stages of a project when content, methods, and procedures are being defined and formalized.

The Influence Process

Anyone who wants to influence the direction of research must see this activity as basically persuasive in nature. The effort must be pursued upon a number of fronts, repeatedly and over time.

The task is to move individuals from the typically narrow contribution to a greater appreciation and understanding of alternative methods and their value, that is, from an interdisciplinary to a more multidisciplinary perspective. This does not mean total conversion on the production of "instant experts" (Brandt Note 3; Rist, 1981) which entails its own dangers.

Throughout the first year of the project we developed a set of strategies that were helpful in moving team members to the desired end (See Table 1).

The influence process is fundamentally a communication process which can be carried out using oral and written modes at both formal and informal levels. We clustered our recommendations into three factors: individual/psychological, group/interactional, and ideological/disciplinary.

Individual/Psychological Cluster. At the individual/psychological level, we suggest strategies based upon consideration of team members as individuals. The most important here is, target in on your most influential antagonist. If you are able to influence that person, the others will follow. It is important to remember that this individual may not be the official team leader or project director.

Use all the rapport building and maintenance skills you have here. Try and "psych out" your antagonist and keep the conflict away from the personal level. Focus your communications to individual's backgrounds and personalities. Phrase them and present them in such a way that they can easily penetrate defenses and be readily understood.

Be humble. This does not mean non-verbal or non-assertive, but non-arrogant. The utility of a given research method theory or analytical techniques must be demonstrated. It cannot be asserted. Informal conversations and discussions or small-group discussions are generally more productive than formal ones. Always allow your antagonist ways to save face and to come around to your point of view at a later date.

Group/Interactional Cluster. In the group/interactional cluster, you must pay attention to the overall group dynamics of your project staff. This includes both formal and informal meetings and sub-groups of staff. You must understand enough of group dynamics to pick your battles judiciously. You cannot win them all. If you do lose a key battle, bide your time. The same issues often arise again and you can be better prepared the next time. It is very helpful if you share office space with the majority of the project staff. This enables you to do a lot of informal lobbying and commenting and keeps you up-to-date with project direction.

Use informal or smaller group meetings whenever possible, especially if they are out of the office. Try to get all team members to try out your approaches, at least briefly, so that they appreciate what can be learned, but also the difficulties. This enables discussion to focus on real issues and data and not just abstract issues which may drag on for weeks or months.

Select and prepare written material for group members. Direct and focus discussions and provide workshops. Make sure these materials are appropriate to where your group is at the moment and are designed to lead them to where you want them to be. Get the group using your terminology--talking your language.

It is critical that you defend your ideas repeatedly and strongly. You must say the same things often in a variety of contexts. You must be prepared to fight for what you want to accomplish. You must also be prepared for some compromise and for more or less continual frustration.

Project retreats away from the day-to-day problems of the project, the participants' departments, and the research site were most valuable for formal decision-making. We would recommend both procedures: 1) informal meetings at team members' homes or social occasions; 2) formal team retreats away from all day-to-day problems and distractions.

Recognize that decision-making will be on-going. Some decisions must be made even though there is not consensus simply to keep work on schedule. Be prepared to take advantage of the need for action. Anticipate these times and have a way to get the job done. Others may not be prepared.

Ideological/Disciplinary. We have already suggested that you attempt to keep conflict focused upon disciplinary, rather than personal, issues. You must provide evidence that your discipline can produce both valid and reliable data on a given topic or issue.

It is important to realize that ideology and disciplinary background provide conceptual blinders for individuals. This is true for all. You must know what your own biases are as well as those of others in order to target your communications. If you can't, people may not be able to "hear or see" what you are trying to communicate. This sometimes means that you must learn to talk their language before you can move them to yours.

Don't attack ideological or disciplinary "sacred cows". Instead show how what you have to offer enables someone to do a better job, have more useful data, or make a better decision. You must persuade individuals or teams of the value of your alternatives, not show them the error of their ways. Present useful and "successful" studies or decisions that use the methods and techniques you are pushing. Make sure that these are relevant examples.

We could summarize our most important suggestion by urging researchers to take the perspective of the other. We also urge that you always allow antagonists to save face. If an antagonist uses one of your ideas, congratulate him or her on its brilliance.

Conclusions

The ability to "flourish", rather than "flounder" in interdisciplinary research is directly tied to the influence process--persuading others of the usefulness and importance of what your discipline can contribute to the project. Although you may be outnumbered, numbers really mean little. What is critical is how you influence the research process. "Success" means making other team members more multidisciplinary. This means creating a greater understanding and appreciation of each other's disciplines, methods, procedures, and appropriateness. It is critical that you understand something of the other's paradigms in order to plan the influence process.

This requires the use of role-taking skills. Critical to the process is a sense of timing and the ability to establish rapport. Materials supplied and discussions should take into account the target's readiness. We also realize that some projects provide very little time for these processes to take place. Given this situation, the best we can recommend is to use material from the individual's own field if possible. This legitimizes the target's involvement and provides some reassurance that he or she is not moving out "into left field". Researchers hearing horror stories from their colleagues regarding participation in interdisciplinary projects (Platt, 1976) are, understandingly, becoming gun shy. To avoid becoming a 'statistic' takes a lot of hard work. But is it worth it since one's contribution to the overall research project and satisfaction with the process and product hinge upon getting at least some of your disciplinary-based ideas adopted by the team. If you succeed in this endeavor, the overall quality of the project will be enhanced as you add the unique contribution which your discipline can make. In addition, you will become a key figure in the project; an indispensable resource valued greatly by your colleagues.

Table 1

Strategies for Making an Interdisciplinary Research Team Multidisciplinary

Individual/Psychological	Group/Interactional	Idealogical/Disciplinary
1. Target in on your most influential antagonist.	1. Try to get office space with the key members of project staff.	1. Focus on disciplinary issues.
2. Never personalize conflict.	2. Pick your battles judiciously and bide your time.	2. Try to keep issues concrete, data-oriented, not abstract-theoretical.
3. Focus your communications so that they take into consideration your antagonist's background and personality. Pay attention to cognitive style.	3. Lobby informally and at social occasions.	3. Identify ideological/ disciplinary blinders, including your own, in order to target communications.
4. Be humble.	4. Use small group meetings away from the office or site.	4. Don't attack sacred cows.
5. Don't gloat over victories and allow your antagonist to save face.	5. Try to get all staff on site to do fieldwork, at least briefly.	5. Demonstrate alternatives and usefulness.
6. If your antagonist takes credit for one of your ideas, let him/her.	6. Focus discussion on real issues and data whenever possible.	6. Provide information that can penetrate blinders and is useful.
	7. Select and prepare written materials for group members. Direct discussion and provide workshops.	7. Make your points repeatedly and professionally.
	8. Get the group using your terminology and language.	

03/04/80

Interview Schedule for Project Self-Study

Management and Decision-Making

1. How would you describe the process of allocating responsibilities?

    1.1 Would you say it has changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what point?

    1.2 Do you think this is an appropriate integration of allocating responsibilities?

2. How have resources been allocated?

    2.1 Would you say it has changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?

    2.2 Do you think this is an appropriate integration of allocating resources?

3. How did you become involved in this project? How did you make decisions about participation in this project?

    3.1 Discipline related
    3.2 Personal

4. Were you instrumental in involving others? At what point? Who? How lent discipline?

    4.1 Strength to project
    4.2 Particular strengths

5. What kind of professional support have you received that facilitates your work on the project?

    5.1 Would you say it has changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points? Discipline/Personal?

    5.2 Do you think this is an appropriate integration of professional support?

6. How have coordinating and decision-making processes of the project been affected by the inter-disciplinary nature of the research?

    How has the coordinating and decision-making affected your work on the project? Discipline/Personal

    6.1 Would you say it has changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?

7. Has the inter-disciplinary nature of the research affected the time demands of the project? How?

    7.1 Would you say it has changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?

8. Does the inter-disciplinary nature of the research affect communication and reporting? How?

    8.1 Would you say it has changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?

Interview

I. Purpose

1. What would you say is the purpose of this project?
2. Would you say it has changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?
3. What is your purpose in particular, in this project? Professional/personal?
4. Has it changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?
5. Have your purposes been influenced by the purpose of the project?
6. Have your purposes influenced the purpose or focus of the project?
7. Who will be interested in the outcomes of this study?
8. How will they use the results?
9. How is your involvement in this project affecting your professional purposes, goals?
10. What tangible outcomes from this project are you hoping to attain?

II. Methodology

1. What would you say are the major methodologies of the project?
2. What is the related emphasis on each?
3. Has this changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?
4. We have discussed when to use each method. How have these been integrated? Has it changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?
5. Do you think this is an appropriate integration of methodologies?
6. What methodology and sequencing are involved in your research on this project?
7. Is that the appropriate methodologies or sequencing as you see the research?
   (a) Given your task on the project?
   (b) Looked at from the point of view of your discipline?

III. Role of Theory

1. How has the inter-disciplinary nature of the project affected the use of theory? Has it changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?

2. Is the grounded theory approach compatible with your discipline background? If so, in what ways?

   2.1 Has it been appropriate for your tasks on the project?

IV. Domain of Inquiry

1. What do you think we are studying?

2. Has this changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?

3. There have been several levels of analysis (individual, class, institution, system) over the course of the study? What would you say is the focus now? Has this changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?

   What do you think is the appropriate level of analysis for a study of this type?

4. At various times we've discussed whether the study should be broader in scope or focused for in-depth information in specific areas. What would you say is the scope of this project? Has it changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?

   What do you think is the appropriate level for the scope of this project?

5. What level of analysis would you see your own research on the project? Has it changed? If so, in what ways? At what points? Has it been influenced by the project?

V. Integration

1. How do you see the integration of the findings (analysis) of the project? (Prompt, if necessary)

   1.1 Has this changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?

2. Would you say the integration of these aspects of the project have been appropriate for this type of interdisciplinary research?

3. How are your tasks on this project integrated into the overall study?

   1.1 Has this changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?

   1.2 Has the integration of your tasks on this project been appropriate for this type of research?

VI. External Influences

1. Has the interdisciplinary nature of this project been affected by external influences such as your department, your college, the University, District Office, Oakwood Community College, or NIE?

   1.1 If so, in what ways? At what points?

2. Has the project affectived the above?

   2.1 Has this changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?

3. Has your professional work been affected by your involvement in this interdisciplinary project?

   3.1 Has this changed over time? If so, in what ways? At what points?

4. Has your work on this project been affected by the above?

04/03/81

Follow Up Questionnaire for Project Self-Study

Please dictate your answers to the following questions and turn into Bonnie by mid-April:

1. What specific responsibilities have you carried out during this past year?
2. Why have you continued to work on the project?
3. Will your future research activities be influenced by what you learned on this project? How?
4. What critical events have exerted the greatest influence on project direction during the past year?
5. What recommendations do you have for ensuring that the concepts and methods associated with your discipline/field play a substantial role in this type of project?
6. Which disciplines or fields exerted the most influence on this research, in order of importance?
7. With which discipline or field do you have a primary professional identification?
8. What organizational or processing changes occurred during the past year - with what consequences?
9. In what ways has grounded theory contributed to the project during the past year?
10. What kind of analytic procedures have you used with the data? How have disciplines or fields contributed to these procedures?
11. Specify your present or planned involvement with project dissemination.
12. What audiences will receive the most value from the project?
13. Does the project have a unifying theme? If yes, what is it? How does it relate to the purpose of the project?
14. Have the project researchers come to share a common frame of reference about what constitutes valid research? If yes, describe briefly.
15. How has the project impacted your Department, the College and the Research Site?
16. How have individuals external to the project influenced it?
    - a. Advisory committee
    - b. Researchers in the field
    - c. Consultants
    - d. NIE staff
    - e. Other

07/13/81

SELF-DESCRIPTION SHEET FOR PROJECT SELF-STUDY

How have your experiences broadly interpreted as a ______________________

Influenced your contribution to the project? (e.g., cognitively-oriented anthropological linguist).

What skills? (e.g., Kay's counseling skills) ______________________

What theoretical orientation?
(e.g., My familiarity with ethnomethodology).

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METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX: STUDENT SERVICES

The Student Services Component of the Literacy Development Project was designed to answer the following major research questions:

1. What are the services within Student Services that are specifically designed to help students meet the institutional literacy demands of the college?

2. What are the services within Student Services that are specifically designed to help students meet the academic literacy demands of the college?

3. What are the services within Student Services that are designed to help students cope with life events that might interfere with attainment of their educational goals?

4. What is the impact of Student Services on students' attainment of their goals?

A series of studies was conducted by the Student Services research team. The following sections describe the methodologies of each of the studies.

Materials Analysis Methodology

Prepared by Keith Thomas

Rationale

Initially, a framework was developed in order to classify print media according to purpose within the community college. This framework is depicted in Figure 1. As indicated, two primary categories were established: functional and academic. The academic category related to instructional materials found within the context of Oakwood's classrooms. In terms of purpose, these materials served as means for the acquisition of knowledge transmitted within the traditional classroom. The functional category related to all print media by which students either gained access to or maintained their status within Oakwood as officially recognized by the College. Both major categories included some materials imposed upon students by others; therefore, print media subsumed by each category represented sources of demands upon students' literacy competencies and their subsequent ability to adapt to and meet those demands.

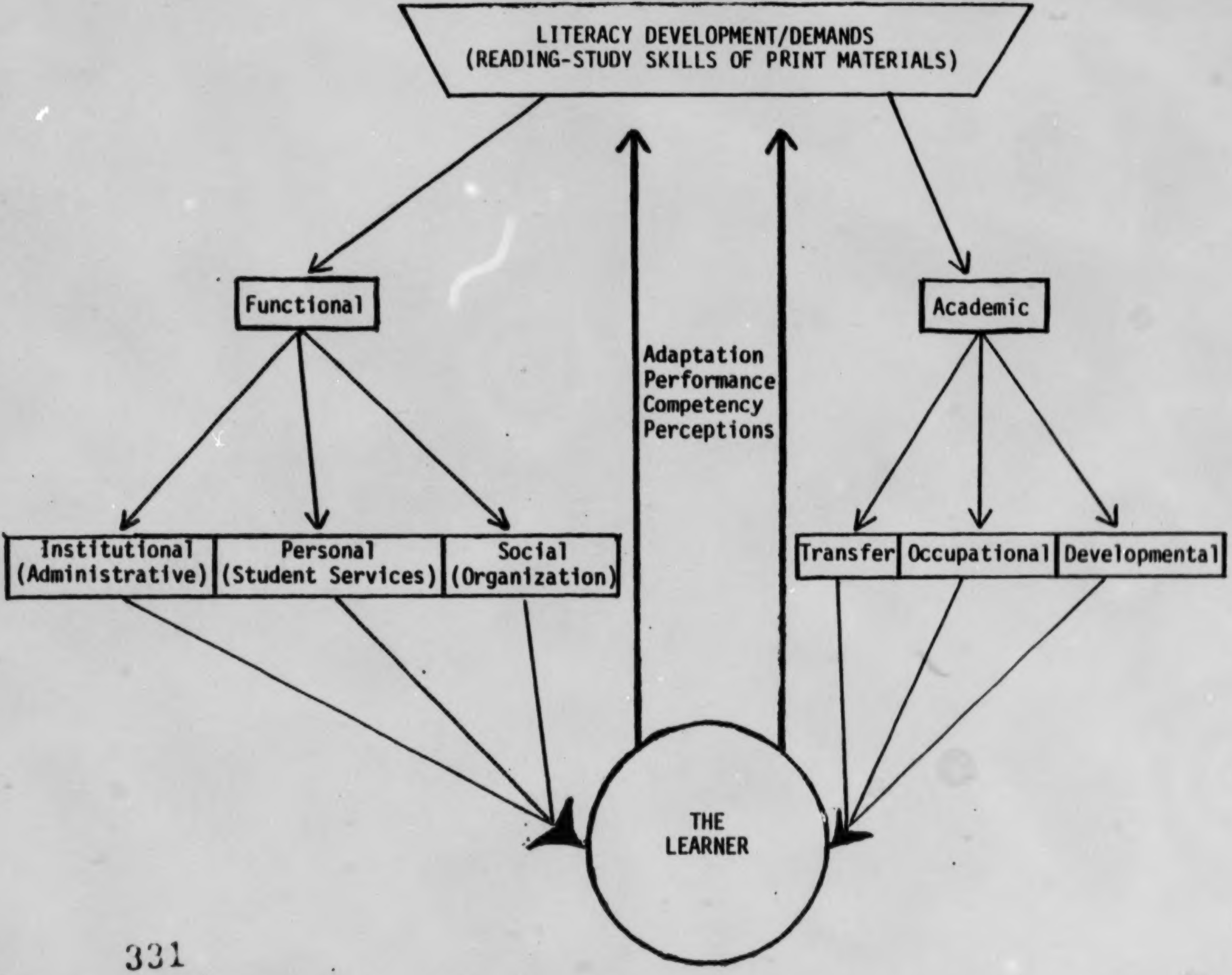
At a secondary level of classification, the academic materials were subdivided into three categories based upon curricular programming; the functional materials were classified, in part, according to their origin and use. Hence, the subsets under functional were identified as institutional, personal and social. The institutional designation refers to materials that emanated from Oakwood's administrative offices and was based largely upon decisions made at administrative levels that embraced or affected the entire school. The category labeled personal relates primarily to materials prepared by support services established to assist students with a wide range of personal and academic related needs. Social refers to that category of material associated with special interest organizations such as student clubs. These categories differed in that institutional was limited to demands, via print media, encountered by all students. No factor of student choice came into play. Unlike institutional, personal and social proved to be sources of demands which were not necessarily required of all students; therefore, the dimension of voluntary participation operated to some degree.

The difference between personal and social is largely one of intent and function. Personal, in our framework, was limited to institutionally established services which students access primarily, but not exclusively, for the purpose of maintaining their status as members of the academic community; i.e. counseling, tutoring. Social, on the other hand, was limited to strictly voluntary undertakings by the student principally for purposes of social interaction or pursuance of special interests; i.e. clubs or organizations. While print media generated from the personal category was often concerned with accessing the resources of the specific service, demands related to both accessing and using the resource. Print media associated with the social category was basically intended to familiarize students with organizations or campus activities (i.e. through the student newspaper and bulletin). Such material was informational in nature but in the case of organizations, was not necessarily required for access (brochures serve as a prime example).

Sampling

Having devised the framework depicted in Figure 1, it was necessary to establish criteria for determining what documents from each of the categories would be subjected to analysis. This was especially important due to the huge volume of print found across the college environment. For our preliminary analysis, this determination was made by personnel within the college serving in critical positions relative to our subsets of institutional, personal or social. Our initial analyses focused on documents pertaining to administrative activities and specific aspects of student support services. Subsequent analyses were conducted on materials that emerged from the social category.

Figure 1


LITERACY DEVELOPMENT/DEMANDS
(READING-STUDY SKILLS OF PRINT MATERIALS)
Functional
Academic
Adaptation
Performance
Competency
Perceptions
Institutional
(Administrative)
Personal
(Student Services)
Social
(Organization)
Transfer
Occupational
Developmental
THE
LEARNER

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Materials analyzed by the procedures subsequently delineated were limited to the following:

1. College Catalog
2. Schedule of Classes
3. Letter of Acceptance
4. Parking Regulations
5. General Admissions Form
6. Application for Financial Aid
7. Veterans Application
8. Curriculum Check Sheets
9. Special Services Information Release
10. Facility Reservation Request
11. Request for Tutoring

In addition to these specific documents, information regarding use and perceptions of the following materials was also secured, primarily via student interviews (see section on Student Interview Methodology): Student Handbook, Veterans Handbook, Student Bulletin, Learning Assistance Center, and the College Newspaper. However, these latter documents were not subjected to the analytical procedures described in the following subsections.

Procedural Considerations: Analysis

Upon inspecting these key documents, it was evident that they fell into two distinct categories of operations which would have import relative to analytical procedures. Among the materials previously listed, numbers 1 through 4 represented examples of traditional connected discourse. Numbers 5-11 showed marked differences, however, in their visual display characteristics; their occurrence is quite common, but they represent a radical departure from typical extended prose. The former mainly required a single operation - reading - of written language patterns. The latter necessitated two operations: reading and writing, and the reading often requires comprehending both conventional and unconventional forms of graphic language representation.

Procedures established were based upon the fundamental premise that, in part, demands would be a function of the comprehensibility of the document in question. In other words, our overriding assumption was: to the relative degree that a document can be said to be understandable, that document will likely place less demand on an individual's reading competency. Allowing for the possibility of inconsistencies between intended purpose of the document and real or imagined expectations involving its actual use, the less the demands, the greater the probability of the user meeting successfully the task specifications requiring the operation of reading. With comprehensibility as the seminal analytical criterion, therefore, procedures needed to be identified/developed which would allow us to ascertain how difficult or easy, if only in a relative sense, the material might be for the intended user(s).

Due to the nature of the documents, i.e. the characteristics of the visual display, conventional procedures were appropriate in some instances; in others, only experimental procedures could be employed. Some of these latter were developed in conjunction with our research and, therefore, still require external validation.

Conventional Analytical Procedures

Existing readability formulas were employed to determine the relative difficulty of connected discourse in all documents analyzed. The term "relative" is critical because the estimates derived from use of such formulas cannot be considered absolute values. In addition, despite the recent criticisms directed at such methods by linguists, both Klare (1975) and MacDonald-Ross (1979) have established conclusively that such procedures do result in valid predictions about text difficulty when such formulas are applied judiciously and results are interpreted with appropriate cautions.

To strengthen our analysis, in several instances we estimated readability or level of difficulty by employing: 1) two formulas, rather than a single measure, and 2) an extensive sampling procedure far more rigorous than is typically carried out. The Fry procedure (1977) and McLaughlin's SMOG Index (1969) were chosen as the procedures based upon two decisions: acceptable validity accompanied by ease of application, and the use of differential comprehension criteria upon which the formulas were originally developed. The latter point is significant since the purpose of the documents had to be taken into account. Unlike textbooks, the material we analyzed was intended to convey essential information with as high a degree of comprehensibility as possible in the absence of mediational input from others. Most readability formulas, Fry's included, are based on a comprehension criterion of 50-70%. For the documents we analyzed, judging the relative difficulty on the basis of such marginal comprehension seemed questionable. Directions on forms, or information about residency requirements are not written in the hopes that approximately 50-70% of the message will be understood. Unlike other procedures, McLaughlin's SMOG Index was established on a comprehension criterion of 100%. Therefore, we chose to use both the Fry and the SMOG, not for purposes of establishing reliability, but rather to compare estimates on the basis of differential comprehension levels.

Sophisticated and rigorous sampling procedures were also employed while using these formulas. In most instances, continuous sampling of text was undertaken. For example, instead of drawing three 100-word sample passages in using the Fry, wherever possible, the entire text was divided into continuous and connected 100-word samples. Thus, the entire document or a specific segment of the document was analyzed, not just a portion. The same rationale was applied when using the SMOG. This greatly enhanced the generalizability of estimates to the entire body of text. (In some instances that was precisely what was analyzed.) Since writing style varies within extended discourse, especially in cases of multiple authorship, such sampling also allowed for accurately describing the parameters, sources and nature of intra-test variability.

Experimental Analytical Procedures

Forms which individuals must complete are common occurrences in daily living. Despite this fact, few definitive research procedures which purport to describe their difficulty have been thoroughly tested. After considering the collective results of available studies, we developed our own procedures based upon the theoretical constructs and methodology employed by Abbass (1976).

Our basic premise was that forms utilize an unconventional graphic representation of language, but written language still functions as the essential basis for such displays. That is, connected discourse is the primary referent from which forms emanate, but the representation takes the form of truncated language structures. To illustrate this assumption,

"Name ____________. Address ______________. Phone __________."

is a truncated version of the following declarative statement:

"Write your name, address, and telephone number."

Based on the linguistic research involving cohesion (Moe, 1979), we contend that an index which took into account the density of truncation would yield a valid and useful measure of the potential degree of comprehensibility of any given form. From our perspective, truncation was viewed as a dimension of syntactic compression affecting cohesion; therefore, it would also relate to coherence which has been demonstrated to impact on comprehension with conventional written discourse. Having established these premises, the question remained as to what variables should be included in such an index or indices, and how should such measures be derived.

Abbass' research utilized Hunt's (1966) T-unit analysis; however, Abbass was simply concerned with determining a measure of the syntactic density of representative forms. He then compared these density measures with norms Hunt had established based on "maturity" levels of written language, and assigned a grade level equivalent to each form. Abbass' conclusions were limited to descriptive statements about the oversimplistic syntax of most forms. For our purposes, however, his analytic procedures were insufficient.

To meet our purposes, we accepted *a priori* Abbass' principle finding: forms or application blanks are characterized by oversimplistic syntax due to compression (or absence of cohesion). Instead of "measuring" the amount of truncation, a point we did give consideration to initially, we focused on the density of information required to complete a given form. To this end, we developed a measure called Information Density (ID) based upon the ratio of "command units" to language cues used on the form. "Command units" were defined as the individual bits of information required to complete any given form.

"Name. ______________________________________ "
(Last, First, Middle)

for example, was considered one command unit. "Language cues" referred to the actual words appearing on the form that served as linguistic referents to the type, amount, order, etc. of each command unit. In the previous example, there are four cues. If a form required 40 bits of information and contained 65 language cues, the index of information density (ID) was calculated to be .615, and was simply computed by the following formula:

$$ID = \frac{\text{\# of command units}}{\text{\# of language cues}}$$

An ID of .615 simply meant that for every 100 language cues, the form required 61.5 bits of information or responses. We viewed the ID as a *potential* index *related* to difficulty of completion. That is, we posited that as the index exceeded a computed value of 1.0 (a ratio of 1:1) the more difficult it would be to understand precisely all that was required to successfully complete a form due to ambiguity. Hence, the higher the ID, the greater the *probability* for error; conversely, the lower the ID, particularly below a value of 1.0, the lower the probability of errors arising from inability to understand what was necessitated.

This index was not intended as an absolute measure of how difficult or easy it would be to complete a form, an activity which may require a complex sequence of reading and writing operations. Since the ability to complete a form "error-free" would be contingent upon a number of factors including the ability *to supply* the information requested (this could simply be an unknown for a given respondent), our procedure was merely intended to quantify on a relative scale how *comprehensible* such documents might be. Because of the factors included in the computation, the ID construct also allowed us to perform comparisons of inter-form variations on the amount of information required, a potentially useful source of data which could be linked to "time-on-task" factors.

During our analysis of materials in the student services area, we used the ID construct while evaluating the following documents cited previously: General Admissions Form, Application for Financial Aid, Veterans Application, Special Services Information Release, Facility Reservation Request and Request for Tutoring.

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Orientation Study Methodology

Prepared by Monica Lowe

Rationale

As the Student Services study progressed, it became increasingly important to members of the research team to develop an understanding of how students learned to use the resources of the campus environment. Noel (1978) suggests that orientation to the campus is imperative if students are to be retained. Interviews with student services staff, particularly secretaries in each of the offices, provided the information that students brought a number of basic who, what, where, when questions to each of the services. Further, staff responses to interview questions suggested that students did not read the college catalog, a primary source of information on where to go for what.

Although students interviewed reported reading the catalog, the primary use of this document was to obtain information on courses rather than college procedures. When students were asked a number of questions relating specifically to orientation - where would you go for certain information or specific types of assistance? - their responses told us where they would go to obtain information but not how they found out about that source of information. Further, their responses suggested reliance on certain key services such as Admissions and Records and Counseling for obtaining information on college procedures. Students also named friends, or, in some cases, instructors as sources of information for general orientation activities.

Researchers in the student services component did not feel the responses to these questions, even combined with staff perceptions from the staff interviews, provided a complete picture of the orientation needs and services available on the Oakwood campus. Thus, in the final semester of the study, we decided to undertake one additional study, the orientation study.

The purpose of this orientation study was to provide researchers with a better understanding of what orientation services were available to students on the campus, the history of such services and their change over time, and how different groups within the institution perceived the need for and the institution's ability to provide orientation. Although the time for the study was limited, it was felt that it was particularly important to obtain the perceptions of administration, student services staff, faculty and students on this particular issue. This would allow for more indepth questions to be asked on orientation to supplement the general questions asked in each set of interviews, those with staff, students and faculty.

After much discussion, the staff of the student services component defined orientation as "learning what's available and where to go for assistance when it's needed." It was the staff's intent, in using this definition, to reflect the point of view of the Oakwood student.

Sample

Since a number of general questions regarding orientation had been asked in the three interview sets of a broadbased sample and since time for this particular study was limited, it was decided to target specific individuals who were interested in, and had involvement with, orientation. The original design was to include two administrators from the student services area, two faculty members from the Registration and Advisement Committee, two members of the Counseling Department, and students from one orientation class. The selection of the students from the orientation class was considered essential as such a class would likely attract students who felt they were having difficulty with orientation and were seeking special assistance in this area. The two counselors who were selected for interviewing were chosen to reflect different points of view; one because of the number of years he had been on campus in this capacity and the other because she was just initiating a new program for a special student population which included an orientation component.

The final sample for the interviews included the above with the exception of one administrator with whom it turned out to be difficult to schedule an appointment. There were nine students in the orientation class selected for a total interview sample of fourteen.

In addition to the above sample, informal interviews occurred with a number of people on the staff at Oakwood. These informal interviews provided additional background and also suggested other resources for orientation that were available to students on campus.

Interview Schedule

The schedule for the specific orientation study interviews was developed by the participant observer in charge of this study in conjunction with researchers in the student services component. The questions specifically reflect learnings from the previous interviews and the staff's analysis of the additional clarification that was needed on this topic.

The questions asked of all staff and students were as follows:

1. The project defined orientation as "how students learn what's available and where to go for assistance when it's needed." What is your definition of orientation?
2. What orientation services does the college provide to assist students?
3. Where do students actually get most of their orientation information?
4. If there was only one place you could send students to help them through the process of orientation, where would you send them?
5. If you were going to recommend something for students to read to help them get oriented to OCC, what would you recommend?
6. What is the biggest problem in getting students oriented to Oakwood?
7. Is orientation a priority for the college?
8. On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being the highest, how would you rate the orientation process for students at OCC?
9. Are there any services, other than the ones now being provided, that the college could initiate to help students through the orientation process?
10. Is there anything else you can tell me, or would like to say, regarding student orientation?

This last question was particularly important to the research as it provided the opportunity for interviewees to move beyond our structured questions to provide an understanding of the college perception of orientation. In fact, it provided useful comments such as one individual's perception that orientation was a frill when it should be seen as a foundation and another from a faculty member that orientation was given low priority because it was seen as an aspect of student services.

One additional question was asked of students in the orientation class, "Describe your frustrations with getting oriented at Oakwood." This question also provided a variety of useful information on student perceptions of the orientation process including the fact that students were often embarrassed and that one minority student felt she was treated differently than other students.

Procedures

The participant observer made arrangements to interview professional staff, at their convenience, in their office. The interviewing process took approximately 30 minutes to an hour with each person. The interviews with the students were conducted during one hour of their class time. As such, this was a group interview providing a variety of responses to each question.

The participant observer also interviewed the instructor for the counseling class to obtain information on the content of the course and what students had said they hoped to get out of such a course. Since at least one section of this course is taught each semester by a member of the Counseling Department, the instructor was also able to provide information on what the students typically are looking for from such a course. In addition, an interview was conducted with a member of the Counseling staff who had been at the college for a number of years. The purpose of this interview was to obtain information on the history of orientation and the changes that had been made since the opening of the college.

In addition to the information gained from the above interviews, the participant observer also found out that Veterans Affairs, the Library, Chicano Services, Financial Aid, Special Services and AWARE offered an orientation for "their" students. The director of Chicano Services stated that their orientation included a tour of the campus, a session of how to fill out forms, an explanation of the available services, suggestions on classes and time for individual questions. Information regarding a community open house which was also designed to provide an orientation to the campus, was provided by the dean of students. Due to the time frame of the study, it was not possible to pursue obtaining more indepth information on these particular services.

Analysis of Data

The initial analysis of the results of the interviews focused on a comparison of the perceptions of the different groups of individuals interviewed. This comparison of perceptions provided interesting data for the project. For example, when asked to select one place where they would send students for orientation, counselors and faculty members suggested the Counseling Department, the administrator recommended reading material, and students stated they went to friends or an instructor. Ratings of the orientation process also varied greatly with the administrator giving it the highest rating of 2, the mean faculty rating 3, the mean counselor rating 4 and, finally, the mean student rating 5.5.

A final report was written by the participant observer to provide the synthesis of the results of the study. This report described the history of orientation at Oakwood and discussed existing orientation services, orientation materials, participation in the orientation process, evaluation of the present system of orientation and recommendations for future orientation procedures. In addition to describing the data, the report included the participant observer's conclusions for consideration for the final project report. These focused on such things as the comment that both students and staff agreed that orientation was not a priority of the college and that if, as Noel suggests, orientation is imperative in providing students with a good beginning on campus, then Oakwood would appear to be regressing rather than progressing in this area of student services.

Results from this report were compared with data from student interviews, faculty interviews and staff interviews. All project data focusing on orientation were the subject of researchers discussions in the final analysis sessions.

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Methodology for Student Life Histories

Prepared by Linda Watts

Rationale

The idea to collect a series of "student life histories" emerged during the Student Services component student interviews. Since the general student interviews were based on structured interview schedules, many of the unique attitudes and experiences reported to us by students were, at first, recorded only in the form of brief marginal notes. Several of these individual cases were frequently discussed in research meetings, so it was decided to write a "Student Profiles" series of brief reports based largely upon these marginal comments and on recollections about conversations in specific interviews. As "Student Profiles" were compiled, they were recognized as a valuable source of information about student styles, attitudes and adaptations to the institutional environment. It was then considered that a representative series of more indepth case study interviews would be important in helping us to present and clarify students' perspectives. The 'Life History' approach, used often in anthropological key informant work (see Langness, 1965), presented us with a good framework for studying students' progress through the institutional procedures over time.

Selection of Sample

We were especially interested in selecting two individuals from each of the curricula programs (developmental, transfer, occupational) and we wanted a fairly representative proportion of students in terms of the ethnicity, age, sex, native language and college experience. We distributed a memo with this category grid among all of the participant observers from the Instructional component, requesting their possible informants be listed, characterized and briefly described according to likely interest, availability and ease of rapport. Certain Oakwood faculty who had previously assisted the project were also asked for suggestions. From this process, some 12 individuals were suggested and the research team then carefully considered which of these prospective informants might best serve as representative of the general student population. Six students were selected and contact procedures begun.

Five of the students contacted agreed to be interviewed. One of these, a Mexican American male (Louis), was interviewed once on an introductory basis but became unavailable for further interviewing when he withdrew from college because of a significant life event. Yvonne, Russ, Donna and Anne were the four students who were interviewed of the originally selected set. BK had been interviewed two times prior to this interview series, once with an Instructional component interview and once as student president of the International Club on campus.

Development of the Interview Protocol

The first two interviews conducted with Yvonne and BK were considered pilot interviews for the series. These were open-ended interviews that did not utilize a definite schedule of questions but were intended as exploratory interviews. After these two interviews had been transcribed and circulated for review among the research team, it became evident that we would need to establish a series of questions to be asked of each informant in order that the data across interviews would be comparable and consistent in its coverage of the full range of college experiences that the Student Services component was interested in describing. Thirteen questions were included in this schedule and were treated as probe questions in a 'dynamic' type interview. Thus, while each student was asked these 13 questions in a consistent fashion, each student was also encouraged to digress from these specific questions in order to provide explanatory or background information.

The 13 questions in the interview schedule essentially followed what could be considered the "institutional life cycle" at the college. Allowing the students to digress with each question in an open interview manner provided a means of illuminating the "student life cycles" of these individuals as well. Thus, for example, while one student (Yvonne) gave a fairly lengthy response to the question about college orientation procedures, other students, particularly Russ and Donna, had been very little impressed by these procedures and, hence, gave very short responses to the question about orientation, even with extra probing. Similarly, while Donna had very little to say about her experience in trying to get a loan at Financial Aid, Anne had a great deal to say about the same experience.

Following is a list of the 13 questions included in the interview schedule:

1. How did you come to decide to go to college at Oakwood?

2. How did you go about getting enrolled?

3. Did you attend an orientation?

4. What was the registration process like?

5. Have you ever sat down with a counselor or anyone else at the college to work out a program of study?

6. That first semester, or since, have you sought out and have you used any of the student services on campus other than those you have already mentioned?

7. How has your college experience generally progressed over the semesters; that is, over time?

8. Do you have any general comments about your overall college experience at Oakwood?

9. Have you participated in any clubs or activities since you have been at the college?

10. Do you see yourself as having changed at all since you first attended Oakwood, to now?

11. Where do you go from here?

12. How do you spell Success?

13. If you were putting together a packet for incoming students to use, what would you like to put in it?

A report on the life history interviews was written which summarizes the responses to each of the 13 interview questions and discussed how each of the individual informants varied in their responses to these questions.

Rapport

Three of the life history informants were interviewed with the general Student Services interview schedule prior to the life history interviewing. As such, rapport had been well established with these students before these interviews were begun. These three students (Yvonne, BK and Donna) were each interviewed at least a total of three times. Russ and Anne were each interviewed only one time. Anne's interview was indepth and rapport with her was easily established. Rapport was difficult only with Russ, who was accompanied to the interview by a friend who waited within hearing distance, for the interview to be completed. As such, Russ' interview was the briefest of the five.

Overview of Methodology

Overall, these five life histories speak to the students' own perspectives about their experiences at Oakwood. While certainly, five such stories are hardly enough to represent the full diversity of students at the college these five stories do serve to fill a gap in our total data base about students at the college. Life history interviewing provides potentially even more of a student perspective than 'case histories' reporting. The life history approach enabled our researchers to have some insight into the nature of specific issues of importance to students enrolled in particular programs or representing particular personality characteristics at the college. We discovered some recurrent issues of importance to students at the college. From an ethnographic perspective, these themes and implications could be considered as 'cultural themes' according to the 'native' point of view. The process of 'making sense' of student behaviors and attitudes at the college was greatly facilitated by this life history approach. It helped the research team to ground their own observations in facts and issues relevant to the people as well as to the institution being studied.

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Registration Study Methodology

Prepared by Betsy Brandt

The purpose of this study was to gather broadbased data on advisement, registration and curriculum. For these purposes, the ethnographer and a volunteer intern went through training to be faculty advisors at the research site and worked advisement and registration. The intern was also placed with the chairman of the Advisement and Registration Committee. The committee was collecting broad-scale data on courses, programs and requirements across campus and was engaged in developing the advisement and registration process and in revising the advisor's handbook. The position of this researcher as intern made it possible for her to attend all meetings of the Advisement and Registration Committee, to interview a variety of faculty to collect data from them about curriculum and programs, to interact with other faculty members under the direction of the faculty ethnographer and the campus chair of the Advisement and Registration Committee. However, due to illness of the intern, not as much data was collected as hoped. Data on the advisement and registration process was turned over to the Student Services component.

As part of the overall research design, we were committed to studying the advisement and registration process. The strategy of triangulation calls for multiple perspectives on the same event or process. Thus, we had studied advisement and registration from the perspective of students and different types of students, such as monolingual Spanish speakers, by sending participant observers through the registration process, playing these roles. We had also interviewed students randomly after they completed the registration process (see Advisement Study Methodology). Furthermore, the Student Services component interviewed many of the college staff who organized and worked in the registration process. In order to complete our information on this process it was necessary then to have a participant observer serve as a faculty advisor and see that side of the process, from the faculty point of view.

During the first year of the project, an advisement and registration committee had been created by the Dean of Instruction, and charged with developing and improving the entire process of advisement and registration. Thus, the process was under considerable change during the course of this study. The chair of this committee was very positive toward the project and provided the opportunity for two members of the research team to go through the process of advisor training with 70 other faculty from the college. Training for advisors was conducted during the end of the fall semester on three separate occasions. Faculty advisors were given handbooks with guidelines to programs, program descriptions, guidelines for interpreting test scores and a variety of other college-related data. Two participant observers successfully completed training, which brought them into contact with a variety of other faculty members in the institution, and were assigned times to work registration. Because of our concern with developmental students and with minority and bilingual students, the faculty ethnographer (Brandt) opted to work as an advisor at the basic studies table where most of these students were encountered. The other participant observer (Denton) opted to work the Basic Studies Assessment and to test students who would be referred to the adult basic studies blocks. Both participant observers worked lengthy hours and staggered their time so that they were able to observe the process over a variety of days and evenings to get the broadest possible sense of what registration was like from the faculty and advisor perspective. Observation of these processes also provided numerous occasions for informal contact with faculty and staff such as lunches, dinner, and coffee in the faculty dining room or off-campus with faculty and staff.

The participant observer was assigned a role as an intern in consultation with the chair of the Advisement and Registration Committee on the campus. In this capacity, she had a role to complete for the advisement and registration committee and was introduced to other members of the committee as an intern and as being in a role that would aid the committee. Other members of this committee, some of whom were developmental faculty, were also aware that she was not a paid staff member of the project.

The purpose of having a participant observer with the committee was to conduct interviews with faculty about their programs to collect data for a revision of program information in the Faculty Advisor's Handbook and in the college catalog. The chairman of the Advisement and Registration Committee contacted individual faculty members and set up appointments for interviews, which were conducted by the participant observer. For these interviews which focused primarily on program information and curriculum a standardized interview schedule was used (see attachment of this schedule). This data was available to both the committee and the project.

Access to individual faculty members, particularly department chairs in charge of programs and program development, was greatly facilitated by having interviews conducted under the auspices of the Advisement and Registration Committee rather than the project, though deception was not involved. The participant observer had previously been a classroom teacher, though not at the community college level and was currently enrolled in a Ph.D. program at the university. She was old enough to be received in a collegial fashion by members of the campus community at the research site, and yet, was also assigned a formal role as an intern which facilitated her access to faculty.

The role of the intern with the committee was carefully negotiated by the project staff with the chair of the Advisement and Registration Committee before her placement. Data from this portion of the project, while reduced due to illness on the part of the participant observer, was funneled into two different components within the project. The broadbased program data was developed by the instructional component and used in the overall curriculum study. Data on advisement and registration was channeled to the Student Services component and combined with data from other sources.

Interview Schedule - Registration and Advisement Committee

Developed by Penelope Denton
Spring 1980

1. Course Title
2. Prerequisite(s)
3. Instructor's Name
4. When Offered - (which semester, day/evening)
    a) Who is the course for (majors, transfer)
    b) Course Content - Objectives
5. Requirements (outside projects, papers) set up by you for the course:
    a) Types of exams/grading
    b) Style in class - lecture, discussion
    c) Communication skills (organized essay, correct grammar)
    d) Cognitive skills (verbal definitions of concepts developed in class, visual relationships, logical deduction, patterns-sequencing, recurrence of ideas)
    e) Mathematics (correctly use standard operations of - + x and divide, fractions, decimals)
    f) Reading Ability - in grade level and in order to be able to read assignments
    g) Study skills (competent notetaking, use library, use dictionary)
    h) Assignment format (assigned group activities, article readings, written research paper)

Advisement Study Methodology

Prepared by Virginia Stahl

Rationale

As the student services study progressed, it became increasingly important to members of the research team to develop an understanding of how students were impacted by the campus environment.

Because the registration and advisement process is often the first and most important contact for new students on the campus, and as the advisement/placement process is critical in determining student course selection, the student services component resolved that it would study the new registration and advisement procedures at the college campus to determine their effectiveness in achieving the espoused goals of identification and proper placement of developmental students. Hence, the initial purpose of the overall study was to describe the registration/advisement process developed by a community college through a collegial committee system in response to perceived student needs (see Brandt's and Denton's studies). However, as members of the Literacy Project staff undertook the study and as time advanced, significant changes became apparent in the processes and procedures used in the registration and advisement procedures. The nature of these changes and the underlying rationale for their occurrence became a second focus for the study.

It was the purpose of this portion of the overall study to interview members of the committee and involved administrators to focus on the evolution of the advisement and registration committee and the process it developed.

As the administrative and faculty makeup of the committee and the institution itself changed, the concern for proper student placement became overshadowed by campus procedures as this committee was perceived to usurp administrative and departmental perogatives in instituting advisement and registration procedures. Ultimately, because of such concerns and faculty refusal to accept the registration and advisement committee's process, the administration reverted to a former registration procedure. Thus, the committee lost its ability to influence the registration process and the advisement that occurs during this process.

Selection of the Sample

The sample selected was composed of the following members of the advisement and registration committee: the chairperson, five faculty members who had served since the inception of the committee, one faculty member had recently resigned from the committee, the associate dean of student personnel services and his predecessor, and the associate dean of occupational education. The acting dean of instruction and her predecessor were also selected to be interviewed.

The predecessor to the acting dean of instruction was interviewed because she activated the committee, appointing the original members and issuing the committee its charge.

The acting dean of instruction was interviewed to determine the current administrative plans for the future of the advisement/registration committee.

Finally, the administrative members of the committee were interviewed to provide as full a perspective as possible concerning the committee, its functions, viability and potential for future impact on the college campus.

Interviews

The questions asked during the formal interviews were developed by the participant observer with the aid of the coordinator of the project's

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student services component. They reflected: 1) interest in the formation of the committee and the rationale for its inception, 2) the perceived advantages and disadvantages of the new registration system, and 3) the future of the committee and its recommended processes.

The following questions were asked:

1. How did the advisement and registration committee come about?
2. What were the advantages of the committee's new advisement/registration process?
3. What were the disadvantages of the new advisement/registration process?
4. What were some of the problems with the process?
5. What will be the future of the advisement and registration process?
6. What is the future role of the advisement and registration process?
7. What are the long term benefits of the process?
8. Is there ongoing advisement during the semester for the students?
9. Was the college/district administration committed to the committee's mission and recommendations?
10. What are some suggestions for improving the process?

The participant observer arranged interviews with all the interviewees in their respective offices. All were asked the ten questions listed above and gave open-ended answers. If an interviewee's answer disagreed materially from the response given by a previous interviewee, the discrepancy was noted by the participant observer and the interviewee was asked for reaction to the previously obtained response. At no time was the source of a response disclosed.

As a further portion of the interview procedure, information follow-ups were conducted with the interviewee to allow him/her to respond to divergent responses from other respondents. Again, in no instance was the source of a comment revealed.

As a final step in the interview process, the acting dean of instruction was interviewed informally over lunch. She was not asked the standard group of ten questions because her involvement with the committee had begun only in the past two months, effective with her appointment. She responded, instead, to how she personally planned to use the contributions of the committee.

The length of the interviews varied from 30 to 60 minutes. Rapport was established easily with several of the committee members and with the acting dean of instruction and her predecessor. However, some of the interviewees were concerned about the project's interest in the advisement and registration procedures. After being advised of the project's interest in the student's view of the registration and advisement procedures, several expressed concern about the confidentiality of responses. The participant observer assured all respondents that names would not be available except to project researchers as sources for specific answers. This response, in concert with assurances from the committee chairperson, assured the members of the committee of the validity of project interest and the confidentiality of response data.

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Analysis of Data

The first step in the analysis of the data was to review the history of the advisement and registration procedures over the three semesters during which the advisement and registration committee had become instrumental in establishing procedures. The analysis indicated that the committee gradually lost control over the registration process. This was reflected in three specific ways: 1) an increasing number of students passing through registration each hour, 2) the dispensing of registration cards for classes by the individual departments; and 3) using all faculty for advisement instead of trained advisors as recommended by the committee.

The second step in the analysis was to compare the answers of the interviewees and ascertain areas of agreement and disparity. The perceptions of the initial committee members and the former dean of instruction, who had appointed the original committee, were judged to be in concert. Differing perceptions were expressed by a new committee member, the newly appointed associate dean of student personnel services, who was charged with the responsibility for determining what registration procedures to use.

The third and final step in the analysis was a synthesis of data provided by the participant observer in a written report. The history of the committee's formation and the changes in the advisement and registration procedure over the three-semester period, along with the responses to interview questions by the numerous respondents, were recorded and analyzed. After describing the data, the participant observer concluded by drawing hypotheses from the observations and by suggesting further research questions.

Significant Life Events Study

Prepared by Irwin Sandler

The present study employs the methodology of significant life events research to study patterns of utilization and satisfaction with student services at Oakwood Community College. In order to place the study in perspective, a brief review of life events research, it's theoretical rationale and empirical findings with other populations will be presented. Following this brief review, the methods used to apply this methodology so that it is grounded in the experiences of Oakwood Community College students will be described and some preliminary findings on the occurrence of life events and service utilization will be presented.

Life Events Research

The study of significant life events has its roots in the area of public health where it has been used extensively to investigate the role of stress in the etiology of disease. Historically, the work of Adolph Meyer which identified the temporal relationship whereby disease onset frequently follows the occurrence of significant life experiences is seen as seminal in this area. Holmes and Rahe integrated Meyer's ideas with Hans Selye's concepts of stress as a non-specific disease causing factors to develop the earliest and most widely used "life events" questionnaire, the Social Readjustment Rating Scale. The instrument defined stress as the amount of change and readjustment required by life events and utilized a psychophysical scaling technique (magnitude estimation scaling) to scale the stressfulness of each of the 43 events on their instrument. Over the past 15 years, a large body of life stress events literature, including numerous theoretical and methodological controversies, has emerged. While reviewing this literature is extraneous to the purpose of the present report (for critical reviews see Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1974; Dohrenwend, 1978; Rabkin & Streuning, 1976; Sandler, 1979) a brief overview of findings and emergent issues which are relevant to the present study will be presented.

1. Relationship between life events, disease, disorder and life satisfaction: Largely using correlational designs, a considerable body of evidence has amassed linking the frequency of occurrence of stressful events with the onset of a wide range of physical and psychological disorders (e.g. myocardial infarction, depression, accidents, ulcers). Although the range of health problems related to life stress events is impressive, the nature and magnitude of the causal contribution of stress continues to be the subject of debate. Of particular relevance to the present study is the fact that the relationship between life stress events and psychological disorder has been studied in the college student population where significant positive correlations have been obtained (Sarasm, Johnson & Siegel, 1978). It should also be noted that task performance as well as health symptemology has been found to be related to life stress events. This finding has been obtained in college students measured by grade point average (Sarasm, Johnson & Siegel, 1978), naval and industrial personnel (Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1974).

2. Relationship between life stress events and service utilization: In the epidemiological literature, the distinction is often made between measures of disorder (e.g. symptemotology) and service utilization (i.e. seeking help for perceived problems). In the present study we were interested in using the life events methodology to assess patterns of service utilization in community college students. It should, therefore, be noted that utilization of health services (including both physical and mental health) has been found to be positively related to the occurrence of stressful events in populations as varied as community surveys (Zautra & Beier, 1978), college students (Sarasm, Johnson & Siegel, 1978) and naval personnel (Holmes & Masuda, 1974).

3. Natural support systems and life stress events: Although people often seek help from officially sanctioned helpers (e.g. doctors,

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clinics, etc.) during times of stress it is probably the case that they more frequently use more informal, "natural" helpers within their social network (Caplan, 1974). Such helping systems have been called natural social support systems and are believed to include people ranging from friends, family, and clergymen, to various informally identified community helping agents (e.g. curranderos, people who have experienced similar stressors, self-help groups, etc.). Descriptively, it is believed that natural helpers provide a variety of types of assistance including advice and information, emotional support and assistance with tasks (Caplan, 1974). Although research interest in the nature and functioning of these natural support systems is relatively recent, there are several impressive findings which support the belief that they serve an important and effective role in helping people cope with life stress events (Cobb, 1976). The present study, therefore, included an assessment of the utilization of and satisfaction with natural support systems in order to obtain a more inclusive view of the nature and effectiveness of helping systems used by the Community College students.

4. Life events and models of stress: As a final introductory note, the theoretical model of the effects of life events which underlies this research endeavor and the unique aspects of the utilization of life events methodology represented by the present endeavor will be described.

Life events are conceptualized as one aspect of a complex, on-going person-environment interactive process. Events may be either self-generated (e.g. beginning college), may occur to people (e.g. death of a spouse), or may occur as a consequence of both extraneous environmental factors and personal actions of the individual (e.g. divorce, failing a course). Whatever the cause of the event, its occurrence represents a significant change in the person's life which requires coping in order to adapt. How well the individual copes is a function both of his/her own personal style and abilities and the aid or assistance s/he receives. Thus, events are seen as the precipitants for the use of both natural support systems and institutional helping services. Successful coping can lead to either a reduction of stress, an increased sense of efficacy or increased life satisfaction. Unsuccessful coping can lead to heightened stress levels, physical or psychological symptomatology. The life events, coping, assistance utilization process is seen as a continuous one in which the individual is changed and also acts to modify his environment. The present study, using a cross-sectional correlational design can assess only a limited aspect of this ongoing process. It can assess the adaptive demands (events) which occur to theoretically interesting subgroups of the population (within a grounded theory approach); and how the occurrence of those events relates to service utilization for coping with the events. In this sense, the research method is quite similar to the majority of previous life events studies (Rabkin and Streuning, 1976).

There are unique aspects to the study, however, which should enable it to make a significant contribution to the literature. The most important, unique aspect of this research is that it is being conducted as part of an interdisciplinary study of the community college. It is believed that the insights which emerge about the functioning of the various student services, students adaptations to the college classroom, and the organization structure and functioning of the college will be mutually complementary with the findings of the life events study. For example, findings about the occurrence of significant events in the classroom will complement the participant observers' understanding of the mutual adaptations of students and teachers in those settings. Likewise, the patterns of service utilization which are assessed in the life events study will be better understood based on the ethnographic studies of the various student services. The ultimate value of this interdisciplinary effort can only be judged by the findings which emerge, but the prospect of integrating information from these different data sources is an exciting one.

The second unique aspect of this study is that the measure of life stress events was generated from the reports of the students being studied. Previous life events research has used scales which were designed for use across populations. In the present study it was seen as important to generate a representative list of significant events which occur to students at Oakwood Community College. The benefit of this procedure is that the events can be seen to represent the significant adaptation demands which occur to these students, which may precipitate their use of helping resources.

Methodology

Significant life events schedule.

The sample of events represented in the life events schedule was generated from a variety of sources. The objective was to generate a representative sample of significant, impactful experiences (either positive or negative) which occurred to students at Oakwood Community College. The data sources for this information included 12 faculty members (across a wide range of subject areas - including Developmental classes), 5 directors of Student Services (Counseling, Financial Aids, Special Services, Veterans Affairs, Dean of Students), 120 general day students, 30 general night students, 30 students attending Chicano Services, 40 students in Developmental and Block classes, 6 students attending Special Services and several participant observers from the Instructional component of the Literacy Development Project. The procedure used to generate events from these groups included individual interviews (with teachers and Student Service personnel), paper and pencil questionnaires administered in classes, and group discussions. Where necessary, the interviews were administered in Spanish. Approximately 1,000 events were generated using these procedures. These events were listed out, rewritten (to eliminate redundancies and combine similar events) and reviewed by several student service personnel and project staff resulting in a list of 100 events. For purposes of the questionnaire, the events were organized into 8 content areas: school events (28), work events (7), family events (26), social events (22), legal events (3), health events (4), financial events (3), physical environment events (7).

A 5-point response format was developed in which the students reported whether each event occurred to them during the previous three months and whether they saw the event as good, neutral or bad. For all events which they reported as having occurred, students were instructed to list all the types of people or services who they talked to or received assistance from for that event. Students could indicate this by listing any of 16 sources of support (both informal - friends and family, and formal - Student Services) on the line next to that event. Students were permitted to list as many sources of support as they utilized for each event.

After completing the life events questionnaire, students were asked to list each event for which the help they received was not helpful and each event for which they would have liked to talk with someone but didn't.

Informal support network (Friend and Family Support)

A measure of size and evaluation of the informal support network was developed, patterned after the work of Herisch (1979). The concept here was the total number of people (friends and family members) who the student sees as being potentially available as a source of help and support. This concept is called support network size. Students were instructed to list the initials of each of these available supportive people. After doing this, students were instructed to rate the effect of the help they received from each informal helper.

A second aspect of this informal helping network assessed was the number of informal helpers who were also a source of unpleasant disagreements. This concept has been found to be important in previous work (Sandler & Barrera, 1980). The instructions here were simply to list each of the informal helpers who also "make you upset, angry or with whom you have unpleasant disagreements".

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Use and Effect of Helping Resources

The frequency of use of each of the helping services and satisfaction with these services was assessed using this scale. The scale simply lists each of the Student Services (plus teachers). The students rate whether they have used each Service, how frequently they used it (up to five times) and what effect the service had on them (from very positive to very negative). Individual use and effect can be derived from each Service and total number of Services used (Use) and total frequency of Service use (FUSE) are also derived.

Satisfaction with Support

This is a simple 8-item scale on which students report how satisfied they are with the help they have available from Friends, Family, Student Services and Teachers and how much change they would like to see in each of these support systems. These two ratings are summed for each support resource, giving a simple satisfaction with friends, family, Student Services, and teachers score.

Feelings About College

This is a 10-item scale on which students rate their feelings (from 1 to 7) about different aspects of college life. The items were derived from several previously used satisfaction with college questionnaires. In this preliminary analysis, the items were simply summed to give a Quality of School Life score. Further psychometric work needs to be done to assess the internal consistency and reliability of this measure to assess whether the items can be used as an overall measure of the construct.

Personal Concern Scale

This is a general measure of psychiatric symptematology which is frequently used in mental health epidemiological research (Langner 22 item instrument). It is used as a gross instrument to indicate mental health symptematology.

Translation

The entire schedule was translated into Spanish for use by students who needed a Spanish form.

Procedure

The questionnaire was administered to students in a wide range of classes at OCC. Depending on teacher cooperation, the forms were either administered in class or were taken home and returned. A sub-sample of the questionnaires were administered by individual interviews - all of which were with two Developmental Block classes (N = 29). After collecting the interviews, the investigator reviewed all the protocols to screen out areas which were incorrectly completed. A total of 312 protocols with usable information were completed. Although we do not have a precise assessment of the percentage of forms administered that this represents we estimate that it represents 55 to 60% of administered forms.

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METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX: INSTRUCTION

Instructional Design Interviews*

The primary purpose of the instructional design interviews was to determine, from the instructors' frame of reference, which basic skills were needed by students to complete the course. In addition, several secondary purposes were associated with the instructional design interviews including a) establishing the type and levels of the instructor's objectives; b) identifying the activities engaged in by the instructor to meet these objectives; and c) ascertaining discrepancies between the actual and ideal instructional situation for faculty. Finally, the data from the instructional design interviews were compared with the data from participant observation of these instructors in the classroom. This last use of the interviews was in keeping with the project's emphasis on triangulation among multiple methods and among the multiple perspectives provided by the principal actors.

Background

The instructional design interviews were derived from task analysis, a procedure typically employed to assist instructors in designing a course or unit of instruction (Joyce & Weil, 1972). Several specific procedures for designing 'instructional systems' have been developed (Briggs, 1977; Gagne, 1977). Common to the various approaches to instructional design has been a concern for increasing the efficiency by which teachers achieve their desired goals. Instructional task analysis is a procedure that identifies the relevant subordinate skills or objectives which are required for a student to attain a specific goal (Dick & Carey, 1978). One way of accomplishing an instructional task analysis is by the procedural approach. In a procedural task analysis, the students typically go through the steps in a sequential order. In performing a procedural task analysis, it is necessary to define all of the steps required to perform the task, noting a) each step in sequence; and b) the input, process and output required for each step.

In the present study, the task analysis design procedure was modified toward the end of determining the skills required of students as perceived by instructors. Of particular import was the notion that the validity of the interview data could be improved by 'leading instructors through several steps in a sequential order', as opposed to simply asking them about the primacy of the basic skills. In other words, we chose not to do single interviews with instructors in which we asked them to rate specific basic skills as to their primacy for student success. Rather, we conducted that interview only after we had developed a list of course objectives, had established the activities instructors engage in to meet their objectives, and had determined their methods of assessment. Further, the data on objectives and activities proved to be important in attempting to interpret the basic skill ratings as well as what happened in the classroom.

Sampling

The unit of analysis for all research on literacy in the classroom context was the class. Thus, the sample for the instructional design interviews consisted of those faculty whose classes had been selected for participant observation and who had agreed to participate. We conducted a total of 24 sets of instructional design interviews.[1]

One instructor was interviewed in 1979 and 1980 concerning the same course. This instructor was interviewed a second time in 1980 because her course became part of a course sequence in a basic skills program initiated under the rubric of Developmental Studies. Another instructor was also interviewed twice. In this instance, two courses initially selected for observation in fall 1980 were very similar in content. Thus, we decided to delete one of those courses and this instructor happened to be teaching the course selected as its replacement. Thus, we

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*Developed by Gary Filan and Kay Martens with assistance from Don Doucette.

Table 1 Classes About Which Instructional Design Interviews Were Conducted

Semester Interviews were conducted	Occupational		Transfer		Developmental (Below 100)
	100	200	100	200	
Fall 1979	Automotive Carburetion & Fuel Systems Survey of Electronics		History of Western Civilization General Psychology		Language Skills Developmental Arithmetic
Spring 1980			College Algebra		Freshman English Review/Freshman English I.[a] Reading English as a Second Language. Developmental Arithmetic (Block I) Adult Basic Reading Skills (Block I) Adult Basic Reading Skills (Block II) Intensive ESL for Spanish Speakers Orientation for Student Development (Block I) Orientation for Student Development (Block II) Adult Basic English (Block II)
Fall 1980	Nutrition	General Microbiology Business Statistics Office Machines	Freshman English II U.S. History	Principles of Economics Experimental Psychology	

[a] This course involved a combination of a review of high school grammar and the mechanics of writing and Freshman Composition I. Students received two pre-100 level credits for the former and three transfer credits for the latter. Students must complete Freshman Composition I to be eligible for an AA degree.

ended up interviewing him about two different courses over two different semesters. Two different sections of two courses were included because these classes were included in two different blocks. The classes about which we conducted instructional design interviews are presented in Table 1. Thus, instructional design interviews were conducted 24 times concerning 21 different classes (3 repeats) with 22 different instructors (2 repeats). Data were collected on faculty perceptions of 11 developmental classes (including the repeats), seven transfer classes, and six occupational classes. Eleven classes (including the three repeats) were below the 100 level (i.e. developmental classes carried course numbers below 100), eight classes were above the 100 but below the 200 level, and five classes were at the 200+ level. Six, ten and eight instructional design interviews were conducted in Fall 1979, Spring 1980, and Fall 1980, respectively.

Demographic Characteristics of Faculty Interviewed

The faculty interviewed consisted of 13 men and 9 women. Half of the occupational, 100% of the transfer, and 40% of the developmental instructors were males. Of the 22 faculty interviewed, 19 were Anglo, 2 were Hispanic, and 1 was Black. Eighty-three percent of the occupational, 100% of the transfer, and 80% of the developmental faculty were Anglos. Hispanics comprised 17% and 10% of the occupational and developmental faculty interviewed, respectively. The modal institutional age of the faculty interviewed was 10+ years old (the community college was only 15 years old at the time of these calculations). Sixty percent of the occupational, 57% of the transfer, and 33% of the developmental instructors had been at the community college for at least 10 years. These data are summarized in Tables 2, 3, and 4.

Table 2. Number of Faculty Interviewed for Instructional Design Interviews According to Gender and Program (n=22)

Gender	Occupational	Program Transfer	Developmental	Row
F	3	0	6	9
M	3	6	4	13
Column	6	6	10	22

Table 3. Number of Faculty Interviewed for Instructional Design Interviews According to Race and Program (n=22)

Gender	Occupational	Program Transfer	Developmental	Row
Anglo	5	6	8	19
Black	0	0	1	1
Hispanic	1	0	1	2
Column	6	6	10	22

Table 4. Number of Faculty Interviewed for Instructional Design Interviews According to Institutional Age and Program (n=21)[a]

Institutional Age	Occupational	Program Transfer	Developmental	Row
1-3	0	1	3	4
4-6	1	1	2	4
7-9	1	1	1	3
10+	3	4	3	10
Column	5	7	9	21

[a] Two faculty were interviewed twice. Another faculty was 'on loan' to this community college. Thus, the sum is equal to 21.

Instructional Design Interviewers

The developer of the instructional design interview procedures was a doctoral candidate in Educational Technology and a consultant to the district which this community college belonged to. He developed the procedures and pilot tested them in collaboration with another researcher with a Ph.D. in Curriculum and Instruction. Prior to the start of the fall 1979 semester, the developer of the procedures left the project. He, along with the other researcher involved in the pilot testing, trained his replacement. That individual had a Ph.D. in History and had just completed work on a federally-funded large scale, multi-method educational research project. She conducted all instructional design interviews for the fall 1979 and spring 1980 semesters. At that juncture, she left the project. Half of the remaining instructional design interviews were completed by the researcher who had been involved in the pilot study. The other four interviews were conducted by another researcher who had been with the project since its inception. He had a Ph.D. in Educational Psychology and was trained by his predecessor before she left the project.

Procedures

During the spring of 1979, a pilot study was conducted to try out the procedures and materials developed for the instructional design interviews. Results of the pilot study indicated that it was feasible to carry out multiple interviews and that the process yielded useful data on one 'slice of classroom life'. As a result of the pilot study, a detailed manual was developed for conducting the instructional design interviews over four sessions.

Meeting No. 1. During the initial meeting, the interviewer was responsible for:

1) Making sure the faculty member was perfectly clear on the purpose of the project. The concept of basic skills was explained and examples provided.

2) Giving a brief overview to the faculty member concerning the various methods that were going to be used to look at their courses. These included a discussion of the purposes of:

    a) instructional design interviews: to identify basic skills needed by students to complete the course;

    b) text analysis: to identify important features of the text in light of the types of reading done by students;

   c) participant observation: to describe patterns of literacy; and to identify student goals and their interpretation of the classroom.

3) Informing the instructor that he/she was to be paid $100 in return for his/her time and cooperation.

4) Explaining what the faculty member had to do during each meeting.

5) Explaining to the instructor the role that the participant observer was to play:

   a) Observer was to periodically attend the class to do his/her field work;

   b) Observer was to contact the instructor before the first class meeting and explain his/her role, etc.

   c) Observer was going to interview students out of class. The purpose of the interview was to collect information pertaining to literacy-related issues. It was also to collect data on student background, etc. The interview was not to be done during class time.

   d) Observer was to ask instructor if they would be willing to provide a roster for their course and any other additional information about their students during the first week of class.

6) Requesting copies of the following instructional materials:

   a) syllabus (otherwise develop one)

   b) practice activities, handouts

   c) tests - if they don't have tests, ask them what kind do they use-multiple choice, essay, etc.

   d) their class schedule (times and location of classes)

7) Obtaining the following information on the textbook for the class:

   a) Author, title, availability in bookstore.

   b) Were there accompanying teacher and student manuals and did the instructor use them?

   c) Was any introduction on how to use the text provided? If so, what?

   d) How did students use the text?

   e) Were students given other assignments from the text such as study questions? If so, what?

   f) How much content of the course came from sources other than the text such as lecture or library readings?

   g) How much planning for the course was done with the text in mind? (i.e. did the course outline follow the outline of the text?)

   h) How was the text selected? Did the instructor agree with the choice? Overall, what was his/her opinion of the text?

8) Constructing (or obtaining) a content outline for their course.

9) Setting up a time for subsequent meetings.

Meeting No. 2. During the second meeting, the interviewer was responsible for:

1) Obtaining (or developing) a list of objectives for the course. In most cases, a list of objectives was not available. The interviewer then proceeded to develop objectives from the course syllabus, text, tests and other instructional materials.

2) Collecting the instructional materials that were requested from the instructor during the first meeting.

Meeting No. 3. During the third meeting, the interviewer was responsible for:

1) Confirming the list of objectives that were developed from the preceding meeting. The instructor was encouraged to modify the list by adding or deleting objectives and/or by editing extant objectives.

2) Completing the Objectives-Activities-Assessment (OAA) sheets. Essentially, the interviewer asked the instructor what activities she/he engaged in to meet each of the objectives and how she/he assessed student attainment of each of the specified objectives.

3) The faculty member was also told to start thinking about what basic skills were required for students to meet the objectives of the course. The instructor was also given the Skill Sheets (Listening, Speaking, Math and Writing) so that s/he could become familiar with the type of questions related to 'required' basic skills that were to be asked during the next meeting.

Meeting No. 4. During this meeting, the interviewer was responsible for:

1) Completing the following skill sheets with the instructor:

   a) Speaking

   b) Listening

   c) Writing

   d) Math

Instructors were told to fill out these skill sheets in relation to what students had to do to satisfactorily meet the objectives of the course.

At the end of the semester, the interviewer assembled an instructor feedback report. The report included a summary of the instructional design, text analysis and participant observation findings. The text in the instructional design portion of the report was supplemented by tables which summarized the ratings with regard to the various a) types of objectives (as well as levels within types), b) instructional activities, and c) basic skills. In addition, instructors were given copies of a) the objectives-activities-assessment sheet, and b) the skill sheets.

Modifications in Procedures

The procedures remained basically intact throughout data collection. For the last semester, a fifth meeting was added. During this meeting the interviewer was responsible for:

1) Obtaining the Perceived Ideal from the instructor. Basically, the interviewer asked the instructor to indicate how they would teach the course if they could do it ideally, that is, any way they wanted to free of actual constraints. Interviewers used open-ended questions to ascertain the perceived ideal. However, the following issues were to be covered:

a) If there were no constraints in the course, what would you really like to see your students be able to do? What would you ideally like them to "take away" from the course?

b) Have you seen any changes in students since you have been working at Oakwood, in terms of basic skills? If so, what are they?

c) Have you had to lower your standards or have you been forced to change your teaching strategies because of the type of students in your classes?

d) If you could choose from any number of instructional materials and resources, what would you like to have in terms of reading materials, writing activities, handouts, equipment, etc.?

Summary of Procedures

By and large, the following tasks were accomplished at each of the five meetings (included Fall 1980 interviews):

1) Overview of meeting and instructional design activities was provided; materials were requested; course syllabus was obtained (or developed); and all other meetings were scheduled.

2) Course objectives were developed (or obtained if available); and instructional materials were collected.

3) Course objectives were confirmed; Objectives-Activities-Assessment sheet was completed and skill sheets were provided.

4) Skill sheets were completed.

5) Perceived Ideal was ascertained (last semester only).

Materials

Two types of materials were used as part of the instructional design interviews. First, an Objectives-Activities-Assessment sheet was used to a) list the objectives; b) determine the activities engaged in to meet each objective; and c) show how attainment of each objective was assessed. A copy of this sheet is attached.

Second, skill sheets were used to obtain ratings of the extent to which explicit subskills in the areas of listening, math, reading, speaking and writing were primary as perceived by instructors. Initially, skill sheets were developed for listening, math, speaking and writing. These skill sheets were constructed by professional educators who had experience in community colleges and who were knowledgeable about the content areas. The actual skills were selected based upon literature reviews for each of the four areas.

After the first semester, a skill sheet was developed for the area of reading. In addition, the format of the skill sheets was changed (see attached sample). Skill sheets were organized so that the specific subskills were grouped together according to the type of skill involved (e.g. the mechanics of listening). In addition, the groupings were ordered from less to more difficult skills. Finally, the type of statements used to describe the skills were made to conform to the math skill sheet. This reorganization made it possible to compare directly the perceived importance of the five basic skills. Thus, the same math skill sheet was used for all three semesters. The reading skill sheet developed prior to Spring 1980 was used for two semesters. The writing, listening and speaking skill sheets were revised prior to the Spring 1980 and these revised skill sheets were used for two semesters.

Instructor Name__________________

Objectives-Activities-Assessment Sheet

Course____________________________

Objectives	Activities	Assessment
THE STUDENT WILL:	How do they obtain Information	How do they use the information (i.e. tests, practice activities, assignments, rereports, etc.)

LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

N = Not Important
I = Important
E = Essential

Instructor_______________

Writing Skills
(Original)

Course___________________

In-Class Work

Outside of Class Work

For the objectives that involve writing, how much emphasis is placed on the following:

Statements	
1. How important is the student's ability to spell correctly?	
2. How important is the ability to punctuate correctly?	
3. Is it important for him to be able to choose a worthwile topic for writing? (If he is given a list of possibilities, does he have to narrow or limit to a specific area or just pick one?)	
4. How important is his ability to back up his opinion with logical evidence?	

Statements	
5. How important is it that the student develop his own organizational structure for his writing or does the instructure do this?	
6. How important is it for him to write in complete sentences?	
7. How important is it for his writing to show style and variety?	
8. How important is it for him to use a content-specific vocabulary accurately?	
9. How important is it that he can use a good general vocabulary with accuracy?	

LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Rating 1	Rating 2
N = Not Important	P = Primary Emphasis of Class
I = Important	S = Significant Emphasis of Class
E = Essential	O = Not Dealt with in Class

Writing Skills
(Revised)

Instructor ____________

Course ____________

Note: Each question concerning student skills should be reated with both an 'importance' grade and an 'emphasis' grade.

For the objectives that involve writing, how much emphasis is placed on the following?

	Rating		Do Students have Problems?	Comments
	1	2		
A. MECHANICS: How important is it for students...				
1. to write legibly and neatly?				
2. to spell correctly?				
3. to punctuate correctly?				
4. to know general vocabulary terms?				
B. STANDARD ENGLISH: How important is it for students...				
5. to use correct Standard English grammar?				
6. to write in complete English sentences?				
C. CHOOSING TOPICS: How important is it for students...				
7. to choose from a list of provided topics?				
8. to compe up with original or creative topics?				
9. to limit their topics to manageably specific ones?				

	Rating 1	Rating 2	Do Students have Problems?	Comments
D. ORGANIZATION: How important is it for students...				
10. to organize a paragraph around a topic sentence?				
11. to organize an essay using a teacher provided outline?				
12. to organize an essay into introduction, body and conclusion?				
13. to identify the main idea or thesis of a paragraph or essay?				
14. to exclude irrelevant ideas and comments?				
15. to organize an essay from a self-generated outline?				
16. to use a variety of patterns of organization, such as contrast/comparison, classification, illustration, etc.?				
E. LOGIC: How important is it for their ideas?				
17. to provide logical support for their ideas?				
18. to draw deductive logical conclusions?				
19. to draw a logical conclusions inductively?				
F. STYLE: How important is it for students...				
20. to show style and variety in their writing?				
21. to use general vocabulary appropriately?				
22. to use sophisticated or technical vocabulary appropriately?				

	Rating		Do Students have Problems?	Comments
	1	2		
G. NOTE-TAKING: How important is it for students...				
23. to copy accurately off a blackboard or screen?				
24. to take down oral assignments accurately?				
25. to note discreet information such as names and dates?				
26. to paraphrase in writing short explanations or discussions?				
27. to note in writing major points of a longer lecture?				
28. to take complete and organized notes from lecture?				
H. WRITTEN TESTS: How important is it for students...				
29. to fill in blanks or completion exercises?				
30. to write brief (sentence-length) identifications?				
31. to paraphrase major points in short essays?				
32. to synthesize major points in longer essays?				

LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Reading Skills Sheet

Instructor________

Course________

Rating 1
N = Not Important
I = Important
E = Essential

Rating 2
P = Primary Emphasis of Class
S = Significant Emphasis of Class
O = Not Dealt with in Class

Note: Each question concerning student skills should be rated with both an 'importance' grade and an 'emphasis' grade.

For the objectives that involve reading, how much emphasis is placed on the following

	Rating 1	Rating 2	Do Students have Problems?	Comments
A. MECHANICS: How important is it for students. . .				
1. to identify (and read aloud) English letter combinations and words?				
2. to attach appropriate meaning to English words?				
3. to group words into meaningful units?				
4. to understand the literal meaning of short statements, questions and passages?				
5. to indicate comprehension by reading short passages aloud with appropriate pauses, stress, etc.?				
B. VOCABULARY: How important is it for students...				
6. to expand general vocabulary?				
7. to learn specialized/technical vocabulary? (content-specific)				
8. to understand figurative language/expression?				

	Rating		Do Student have Problems?	Comments
	1	2		
C. COMPREHENSION: How important is it for students...				
9. to understand the general meaning of a selection?				
10. to note specific facts and details?				
11. to follow a sequence of ideas, events or steps in a process?				
12. to follow specific directions?				
13. to select, understand and organize main ideas?				
14. to perceive relationships (cause/effect, contrast/compare, etc.)?				
15. to determine the organization of what is read?				
D. STUDY/READING: How important is it for students...				
.. to locate specific information through use of...				
16. table of contents?				
17. chapter sub-headings, organization, etc.?				
18. index?				
19. bring references such as dictionary, encyclopedia, etc.				
.. to interpret graphically condensed materials...				
20. maps?				
21. charts?				
22. tables?				
23. graphs?				

	Rating		Do Students have Problems?	Comments
	1	2		
.. to adjust reading style based on...				
24. purposes (i.e. long-term memory vs. short-term reception)				
25. type of material (text, handout, tests, library references)?				
26. content (new information, review material, etc.)?				
E. CRITICAL READING: How important is it for students...				
27. to draw conclusions?				
28. to anticipate outcomes?				
29. to draw inferences?				
30. to distinguish between fact and opinion?				
31. to evaluate facts/ideas in terms of experience or textual support?				
32. judge adequacy/validy of author's coverage or competency?				
F. INTEREST: How important is it for students...				
33. to develop habits of wide reading on the specific subject?				
34. to expand general reading interest?				

LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

N = Not Important
I = Important
E = Essential

Listening Skills
Sheet (original)

Instructor______________________________

Course__________________________________

For the following objectives that involve listening, how much emphasis is placed on the following:

Statements	Rating	Do Students have Problems	Comments
1. Listening to teacher lectures?			
2. student presentations			
3. media presentations			
4. discussions			
5. How much of the class is devoted to "listening"?			
6. Are students allowed to interact with the speaker (e.g. ask for clarification or repetition?			
7. How do students demonstrate their comprehension of what they heard?			

Statements	Rating	Do Students have Problems	Comments
{cont.}			
7. teacher oral questions or request for summary			
8. written questions or summary			
9. inspection of notes			
10. tests			
11. reports			
12. discussion			
13. other			
What type of questions asked?			
14. factual questions to review content			
15. questions which require synthesizing			
16. questions which require drawing relationships			
17. questions which require inference			

LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Rating 1	Rating 2	
N = Not Important	P = Primary Emphasis of Class	
I = Important	S = Significant Emphasis of Class	
E = Essential	O = Not Dealt with in Class	

Listening Skills
(Revised)

Instructor ______________

Course ______________

Note: Each question concerning student skills should be rated with both an 'importance' grade and an 'emphasis' grade.

For the objectives that involve listening, how much emphasis is placed on the following:

	Rating 1	Rating 2	Do Students have Problems?	Comments
A. MECHANICS: How important is it for students?. . .				
1. to distinguish meaningful English sounds?				
2. to distinguish English vocabulary items?				
3. to distinguish meaningful English sentence structure?				
4. to distinguish meaningful English tonal inflections?				
B. STATEMENTS: How important is it for students...(in English or another language)				
5. to understand oral directions given by the teacher?				
6. to understand short factual statements of discreet information made by the teacher?				
7. to understand the main idea of short explanations made by the teacher?				
8. to understand the major points of a lecture?				

	Rating 1	2	Do Students have Problems?	Comments
C. QUESTIONS: How important is it for students...(in English or another language)				
9. to understand oral questions of the teacher concerning classroom procedures?				
10. to understand oral questions of the teacher concerning subject matter?				
D. RECOREDINGS: How important is it for students...(in English or another language)				
11. to understand bits of discreet information presented by recording? (what kinds of recording?)				
12. to understand the main idea of short recorded passages? (what kinds of recorded materials?)				
13. to understand the major points of longer recorded passages? (what kinds of recoreded materials?)				
14. to understand other students' questions and interactions with the teacher in the class?				
15. to understand other students' statements and questions in class discussion or work groups?				

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LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

N = Not Important
I = Important
E = Essential

Math Skills Sheet
(Original)

Instructor ____________________

Course ____________________

For the following objectives that involve speaking, how much emphasis is placed on the following:

	Rating	Do Students have Problems?	Comments
Learning new mathematical terminology and notation.			
1. Reading numbers			
2. Defining new terms			
3. Defining new notation			
4. Utilizing mathematical formulas; memorizing them			
Performing arithmetic operations:			
5. Addition, subraction, multiplication, division			
6. Use of exponents and roots			
7. Percentage problems			

	Rating	Do Students have Problems?	Comments
Are the above operations most often performed with:			
8. Whole numbers -			
9. Fractions -			
10. Decimals -			
11. Ratio and proportion -			
12. Percent problems -			
13. Other -			
14. Performing algebraic manipulations -			
15. Interpreting graphic materials (e.g. charts, graphs, tables, maps)			
Utilizing geometry skills			
16. Labeling figures, angles			
17. Finding areas, perimeter, circumference, volume			

	Rating	Do Students have Problems?	Comments
18. Pythagorean Theorem			
19. Other basic statistical terminology - mainly symbols			
20. Translating word problems into mathematical language and solving them			
21. Translating word problems into graphic representations and interpreting them.			
22. Translating concrete situations into mathematical problems and solving them (i.e. finding the average or balancing a checkbook).			

	Rating	Do Students have Problems?	Comments
In the above activities, how much stress is put on:			
23. Speed			
24. Efficiency			
25. Accuracy			
26. Neatness			
27. Other			
28. In the above activities, are students expected to be able to explain as well as apply the concepts learned in the course?			

LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

N = Not Important
I = Important
E = Essential

Speaking Skills
Sheet (Original)

Instructor ____________________

Course ____________________

For the following objectives that involve speaking, how much emphasis is placed on the following:

Statements	Rating	Do Students have Problems	Comments
What types of speaking tasks must students perform?			
1. small group discussions			
2. large group discussions			
3. responding to instructor questions			
4. presentations			
5. other			
6. How much of the class is devoted to student speaking?			
What is the usual length of student oral language?			
7. single word or phrase			
8. single statements			
9. 100-200 words			
10. longer			

Statements	Rating	Do Students have Problems	Comments
11. Do speakers interact with the Listeners?			
What aspects of the oral language are stressed?			
12. Delivery: loudness pronunciation, intonation phrasing			
13. correct word usage and grammar			
14. varied vocabulary and sentence structure			
15. organization and clarity and conciseness			
16. rapport with audience			
17. How important is it to stay on the subject and avoid irrelevant comments.			

LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Instructor ________________

Course ________________

Speaking Skills Sheet (REVISED)

Rating 1
N = Not Important
I = Important
E = Essential

Rating 2
P = Primary Emphasis of Class
S = Significant Emphasis of Class
O = Not Dealt with in Class

Note: Each question concerning student skills should be rated with both an 'importance' grade and an 'emphasis' grade.

For the objectives that involve speaking, how much emphasis is placed on the following:

	Rating 1	 2	Do Students have Problems?	Comments
Mechanics: How important is it for students . . .				
1. to speak loudly and clearly in English?				
2. to pronounce English sounds and words correctly?				
3. to speak using correct English grammar?				
4. to speak in complete English sentences?				
Statements: How important is it for students ... (in English or another language)				
5. to repeat short statements made by the teacher?				
to respond to the teachers short questions . . .				
6. concerning instructions and/or classroom procedures?				
7. on subject matter requiring factual recall?				
8. on subject matter requiring synthesis of material?				
9. on subject matter requiring inference?				
10. to paraphrase a subject matter point made by the teacher?				

	Rating 1	Rating 2	Do Students have Problems?	Comments
11. to summarize the major points of a lecture or discussion?				
12. to comment on or evaluate the presentation of material?				
QUESTIONS: How important is it for students...(in English or another language)				
13. to ask short questions concerning instructions, assignments or classroom procedures?				
14. to ask questions to clarify a discreet subject matter point?				
15. to ask questions to generate discussion of subject matter?				
PRESENTATIONS: How important is it for students...(in English or another language)				
16. to explain to the class a procedure or how something works?				
17. to explain to the class beliefs or opinions?				
18. to make a prepared presentation to the class... from notes or a prepared text?				
19. from memory?				
INTERACTIONS: How important is it for students...(in English or another language)				
20. to participate in small group (3-6 students) discussions or work groups?				
24. to participate in large group discussions or debates?				

ENDNOTES

1. During the Spring 1980, we observed in a total of 13 classes. Three of these classes were added immediately before the semester began to facilitate inter-class comparisons. For example, Freshman Composition I was added as a sister class to Freshman English Review/Freshman English (same instructor). In a similar vein, Analytical Geometry and Calculus I was added as a sister class to College Algebra (same instructor) and a second section of Intensive ESL for Spanish speakers was added (different instructors, same content). Because of time constraints, the instructional design interviewer conducted only 10 sets of interviews, excluding the three classes added just prior to the start of the Spring 1980 semester.

Participant Observation*

The instructional component used the strategy of "triangulation" in dealing with the question of functional literacy in the classroom. Our literature review, as well as previous experience, had told us that there might be little commonality between the instructor's view of literacy demands in his/her class and the students. Therefore, we decided to place observers in the classroom as well as to do instructional design interviews.

The next question which arose was whether to do nonparticipant observation or participant observation and whether to use an observation instrument or not. After reviewing over 120 classroom observation instruments, including some that had been derived from initial ethnographic observations, it was decided not to use a formal instrument for the following reasons:

1. Most instruments are designed for observation in elementary classrooms, and thus, place a heavy reliance upon factors of teacher control and teacher talk to the exclusion of students.

2. The majority of classroom instruments we reviewed called for a high degree of inference on the part of the observer and little recording of actual behavior.

3. Our central problem was to examine literacy behavior in selected classes using the class as a unit of analysis. None of the instruments were specialized to look at literacy and, because of the time and nature of most observation systems, they pull apart classroom events.

We, therefore, decided to do participant observation using the class as the primary unit of analysis, though participant observers also observed outside of class where possible and feasible. In most classes, participant observers played the role of student. There were some exceptions to this; for example, in one class the only way that a participant observer could be placed was for him to assume the role of counselor, a role for which he, in fact, had formal training and a degree.

After discussion with the dean of instruction and individual faculty members who had had participant observers in their classes, it was felt best to introduce participant observers at the first day of class and to indicate their role. This was done in all classes, yet students, in most cases, continued to see the participant observer as a student rather than as a researcher, at least through the middle of the semester when participant observers began interviewing individual students.

For our initial observations, in the fall of 1979, we decided to keep the instructional design procedures quite separate from ethnographic observations in order to have independent measures. Thus, participant observers were unaware of the results of the instructional design interviews in their classes and a procedure was developed at the end of the class to compare the data from these two independent sources. The procedure was as follows:

Participant observers picked up weekly logs of classroom assignments and events that were filled out by instructors. These were turned in to the instructional design coordinator, but not used by the participant observer. The participant observer was also not given the results of the instructional design interviews until late November, which was one of the last weeks of the semester. At this point, the task analyst set up a conference with each individual participant observer and went over the results of the task analysis with the observer. In some cases, the observer was then asked to look for substantiating or contradictory information derived from the instructional design interviews, though this was not necessarily done on a systematic basis.

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*Developed by Betsy Brandt

Observers were also, at a later date when the analysis was completed, given results of the materials analysis and also upon occasion, asked to report specific kinds of things or look for particular uses of materials. At the end of the semester, observers prepared a final report.

Three members of the instructional design team then met on an individual basis with each observer, having previously read all of the observer's fieldnotes, midsemester reports, research memos and the final report. They, then, questioned the observer using the following framework that had been developed over the course of the semester: a) objectives, b) activities, c) demands, d) resources, and e) outcomes. Within each section, forms were made up and data were integrated from materials analyses from the instructional design interviews and from the observers, according to the following outline: i) commonalities and convergence of data; ii) differences and disagreements; iii) holes in the data; iv) methodology; v) additional topics that arise; vi) design for spring; vii) instructor feedback and report; viii) hypotheses; and ix) suggestions for revisions of the data summary for the fall semester. These sessions were taped and notes were taken on a form prepared for this purpose.

After this conference and the filling out of these forms with the participant observer, the three members of the instructional design team prepared an integrative report and class summary for each class.

This was a very useful procedure as everything we knew about a class was then integrated into one single report and it was very easy to see where the different sources of data agreed or disagreed with one another. In the fall semester, we found that the task analysis results, that is, the summaries of the instructor's perceptions of the literacy demands of the class varied significantly from the actual demands as seen by observers. When contradictions of this sort appeared, every attempt was made to find out the reasons for the disagreement and to record them. Unfortunately, this procedure was later abandoned as there were shifts in personnel within the instructional component and because it consumed enormous amounts of time. Often, this occurred several weeks after the end of the semester. This meant that the conferences needed to be held when the participant observer and also the staff were already deep into the concerns of the next semester.

What Was to be Observed

The nature of our basic research questions dictated what was to be observed, but this was still too broad to provide adequate direction to participant observers, particularly those without prior field experience who were extremely anxious about the entire process of observation. We began with a working definition of the term 'literacy demand' which was a demand in a particular class that required the use of reading or writing. For our purposes, it did not matter whether the demand required these activities to be accomplished in class or outside of class. We also developed categories that were essentially parallel to the categories used by the instructional analyst so that the data would be comparable for purposes of triangulation. To facilitate the process of comparison, a form entitled Participant Observation of Literacy Demands Weekly Summary was developed (see attached sample). This form could be compared with a similar form that was filled out by the instructor which was entitled Weekly Log on which the instructor recorded the activities and the skill levels that he thought those activities would entail from the students (see attached sample). Participant observers had the responsibility of picking up the Weekly Log from their instructor and turning that in, with their own Weekly Summary to the task analyst. Prior to the semester, packets containing the Weekly Logs for the instructors were prepared and sealed, and envelopes were addressed so that the participant observers did not have access to this form. In initial conception, this procedure appeared to be a good way of triangulating and validating data derived from participant observation with data derived from the instructor on a week-by-week basis. The forms were color coded with the yellow form being the Weekly Summary of the

PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION OF LITERACY DEMANDS

Class ____________________

Weekly Summary

Week of ________________ Instructor ____________________

Day/Date	IN CLASS ACTIVITIES				Assignments
	Type of Class Activities (e.g. lecture, discussion)	Estimate % of time	Literacy Demand (e.g. listening, reading)	Student Response (e.g. note-taking, questioning, answering questions, non-attentive, etc.)	(List assignments in the wording used by the instructor)

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Please fill out this Log Form to describe the week's classes.
Your participant observer will pick up the form.

Instructor's Name____________________
Class____________________

Day/Date	Summary of content to be covered each day. Include pages in text, if any.	Skill problems that students may encounter.	Format of lessons (lecture, discussion, etc.)	Description of: Handouts, Assignments, Readings, Practice Activities, etc.

NOTE: Please attach all materials that were used during the previous week's classes. Please put the correct date on all materials that were used during each lesson. Date them according to the class period they were used.

THANK YOU!

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participant observer and the white form being the instructor's Weekly Log form. In practice, however, there were numerous pitfalls.

First, the instructors disliked filling out the forms and complained that they took too much time although they were single-sheet forms. Thus, we were unable consistently to have instructors fill these forms out. Second, there was a similar problem with the participant observers. The coordinator of the instructional component was constantly nagging participant observers to turn in their weekly summaries. If the summaries were not compiled at the time the data were collected from the week's fieldnotes, there was a concern that the data would no longer be reliable. Thus, after the second semester, this initial procedure was dropped. In addition, the data it provided proved to be duplicated by other modes such as the instructional design interviews and the overall observer reports. However, now, three years later at the close of the project, it would be useful to have these data in condensed form.

Instructors were also requested to enclose copies of handouts or any class materials that they used in the package with the Weekly Log that they filled out. For the spring semester of 1980, we realized that compliance was low. Observers were then instructed to check for the completeness of materials weekly, both their own and that of the instructors. They were also asked to fill out the yellow log in careful detail, listing the minutes devoted to each topic or activity for accurate computation of percentages for comparison with the task analysis of the instructional design interviews. We found that occupational instructors had the lowest rate of compliance, followed by the math instructor. The enclosed materials, such as class handouts, were given to the materials analyst. In the case of the math instructor, during the fall semester, the fact that she did not provide the handouts was critical to materials analysis since no text was used for the course.

One participant observer was assigned to each class, after consultation with the instructor, in an attempt to match instructor and participant observer personalities and overall styles. Participant observers met with the instructor and explained their role and asked the instructor to introduce them on the first day of class, or to allow themselves, after introduction, to discuss their role in the class. Thus, there was no attempt to hide the fact that a participant observer was present in a class.

Participant observers began their observations on the first day of class and continued to attend most class sessions except in the case of classes which met daily for three or four hours a day. In those instances, observers attended only two to three sessions per week. Constant observations were made during the first semester of observations of fall 1979 through the sixth to seventh week of the semester, as we were not sure as yet, what to expect in terms of our observations and the point at which we would reach saturation in data collection. At this point, participant observers were asked to begin interviewing students, though in no case, was interviewing attempted before the participant observer had developed strong rapport with individual members of the class and the class as a whole.

As mentioned earlier, inexperienced participant observers, but also some of the experienced observers, were very concerned with the question of what to observe. Therefore, as the semester wore on, observers were given more and more specific guidelines as we had some sense of the data that began to emerge and also some sense of areas that we wished to cover. Observers were told to report the following data for each class observed: 1) sex and ethnic background; 2) student attrition by name and reason for attrition, where possible; 3) instructor style; 4) a map of student seating patterns and other physical arrangements in the classroom; 5) references to text and/or class assignments; 6) an analysis of the state of rapport with a) the class, b) the instructor, and c) key individuals in the class; 7) description of the cultural scene at the site; 8) analysis of how the class has changed at all from the first day, with a focus on student and faculty adaptation; 9) description of any critical events in class such as an evaluative experience, e.g. a test; 10) perceived literacy demands; 11) social cultural competence needed by students; 12) implicit or explicit class roles; 13) critical events for students in or out of class; 14) faculty office hours and student evaluation; 15) research questions; 16) hypotheses; 17) recurrent instructor patterns or comments; and 18) in consultation with the task analyst, after preliminary analysis of the data from the instructional design interviews, a list of foci was developed.

Daily Lesson

The needs of the task analysis portion of this study encompass issues regarding the general and specific objectives of the lesson and the manner in which it is presented. The detailed content of the lesson is of secondary interest. A useful observation, therefore, would 1) briefly state the topic being discussed, 2) note the apparent objective of the lesson (what concepts or facts a student is expected to grasp), and 3) describe the format or combination of formats of the lesson. In addition to data on 1, 2, and 3, it would be helpful if the P.O. used their own techniques to determine if their perceptions of the lesson objectives correspond with or vary from other students' perceptions. It would be useful to determine the nature of the material presented (e.g. factual or conceptual) that the student is later expected to know. This can be done through a variety of techniques -listening for special voice tones the instructor may use, recording exactly what the instructor writes on the board repetition of content--which can be compared with actual exam questions and answers.

Speaking Skills

P.O.s, from the task analysis perspective, are encouraged to collect data describing the variety and quantity of speaking tasks demanded of students. Complete information on this focus would include perceptions of instructor reaction to student oral response, student perceptions of these demands and the character of the public interaction of individuals in the class. A further comment on the quality of student oral communication would be useful (e.g. grammar, pronunciation, loudness, organization).

Listening Skills

Observations in this area might focus on the importance of listening in the total class or situations within the class, from the student perspective. Data collected in this skill area should reflect information on any techniques used by the instructor or the student to stimulate or enhance listening and attention. Be aware of how students demonstrate what they heard either immediately following the event or in the future.

Writing Skills

Data collection within this skill area should reflect the student's opinion of the need for technical writing (e.g. spelling, grammar, punctuation), as well as creative style and efficient organization. Observations in this regard might include comments on the directions students receive to guide their writing, the character of the written assignments, and the stress on notetaking within the class.

Math Skills

When math skills are appropriate to the class, the P.O. should determine what basic mathematical operations the students are expected to understand and/or perform. The degree of application and interpretation of symbolic material (graphs, charts, etc.) that the lesson stresses should also be noted. Concurrent with the above perceptions, the P.O. should attempt to determine student opinion of these demands. Possible observations for inclusion in this area would be student opinions of easily acquired material and that which was more difficult.

The participant observers met on a weekly basis for approximately three hours and, later in the semester when the instructional design analyst had finished her fieldwork, also with her and occasionally with other members of the other components to discuss problems, exchange data and develop new procedures.

Recording Observations in the Field

An initial impulse of beginning participant observers, particularly those working in a setting with which they are familiar, or at least partially familiar, given their own experiences as students, is to record inferences rather than actual observations. Further, their description tends to be 'thin', rather than 'thick'. Several techniques were employed during the first semester of observations to counteract these tendencies. The first was that participant observers were instructed to take notes as fully and completely in the class they were observing as possible. In most classes, it was feasible to do this throughout the class as some other students, at least at some time in the period, were taking notes. This avoided the tendency to reconstruct and add unwarranted inferences into the data. In some classes, however, notetaking during the class was not feasible; for example, in an automotive lab that involved much more manipulative activities or in the case of some other occupational courses. In some cases, this was also not possible when observers operated outside of class. For example, meeting with students informally in the cafeteria or in the library or other out-of-class contexts. In these situations, participant observers were instructed to dictate their fieldnotes on dictaphones as soon as possible after their experience. Since the research site was approximately a 45-minute drive from the university, students often utilized some of this time to dictate fieldnotes and observations. During field training a standardized format was adapted for the project.

During the first year and a half of the project, we planned to move to a second research site. Therefore, the first line of each fieldnote indicated the site which was observed. Next, the day of the week and the date, next the name of the observer and then a key which indicated basically what the fieldnotes were about which were reported in that section. This key often included the most salient classroom event that was being reported, a shift in rapport, or something of that sort. The purpose of the key was to aid in quick scanning of fieldnotes when an observer wanted to locate a particular set of fieldnotes. Observers were instructed to record the time at which they arrived and the time of particularly significant events, as well as their duration. They also were told to record events in as much behavioral description as possible and, where they made inferences, to clearly indicate that these were inferences. A set of standard abbreviations was developed for use by all observers in fieldnotes. This included, for example, the use of IN as a reference to the instructor in the fieldnotes and the use of initials or nicknames as pseudonyms for students. The use of initials often based upon some identifying feature of the student proved to be a little cumbersome and to, in fact, influence our thinking about students. Later, for many observers, this was modified to the use of a nickname, not the student's real name or real nickname, which could be used as an identifying reference in the fieldnotes. This made it easier to think about the student as a person.

The typical procedure was for participant observers to take notes in their classes. These notes were then reviewed and turned in, in a handwritten fashion, to one of the two secretaries for the project. If they were not turned in in this fashion, the original written notes were dictated on cassette tape and turned in to the secretaries for transcription. The observers who used dictation were all given guidelines developed by the secretaries for successful dictation, though clearly not all observers followed the procedures. The secretaries typed the fieldnotes on paper numbered by line with a wide left margin which was used for coding (see attached sample). The standard procedure was for the secretaries to make a xerox copy of the fieldnotes and to file the original of the fieldnotes in a notebook for the specific course or, in the case of other areas of research, for example, advisement and registration, in a notebook titled for that area. All fieldnotes were kept under lock and key with access only to qualified project members. Additional measures to insure confidentiality included the use of pseudonyms and the instruction not to report any confidential or extremely sensitive data in the fieldnotes.

There were both advantages and disadvantages to the procedure that we evolved for fieldnotes. The overall format for fieldnotes, as illustrated earlier, proved to be extremely successful. This facilitated keeping fieldnotes together in notebooks, in consecutive order, with pages numbered from the first observations consecutively throughout the semester. Beginning on the right two-thirds of the page provided ample space for coding and provided a permanent record of suggested codes and questions. Placing the fieldnotes in notebooks also made it easier to retrieve a full set of notes with no shuffling through files or time-consuming searches for missing sets of fieldnotes. Since fieldnotes were kept under lock and key, there were never any worries, nor in fact any problems, about breaches of confidentiality or project data falling into unauthorized hands. The secretaries also guarded project files and project data so that there was also very little chance of losing any data. Fortunately, the budget provided for ample xeroxing funds and, thus, when reports needed to be duplicated, they were duplicated. No project staff member was permitted to remove original fieldnotes or other one-of-a-kind documents from the project files. Support staff for the project included one full-time secretary and one half-time secretary both of whom were extremely efficient. Still, with an average project staff including volunteer participant observers of 25, secretarial time was obviously at a premium. During the year and a half that the project was actually in the field observing classes, the majority of secretarial time was consumed by the typing of fieldnotes. The advantages of this process included standardization of form, virtually error-free fieldnotes, confidentiality and security of the data, and perhaps most importantly, the fact that the secretaries, particularly the full-time secretary, would nag and remind observers to get their reports in on time. Another major advantage included the fact that fieldnotes were always filed in the proper location and were always available when team members needed them. Perhaps the most significant disadvantage of the process was the fact that the secretarial staff was simply unable to keep up with the volume of fieldnote typing. Thus, observers might not receive their fieldnotes back until 2-3 weeks had passed from the initial date. This meant that coding could not really proceed until the final typed copy was received by the observer. Since the instructional coordinator was also the ethnographic coordinator during the first semester, she read each of the observer's set of fieldnotes while the observers were still in training. Thus, at this time, she did not have access to the fieldnotes, and thus, was unable to make suggestions for fuller treatment or clarification on specific points until several weeks after the data had actually been collected. Another disadvantage may have been the fact that observers, in not typing their own fieldnotes, were not able to add to or amplify them as is the case when researchers type their own fieldnotes. On the other hand, some of this amplification may not be warranted by the actual observations.

The students who dictated their fieldnotes on cassette tapes generally had their fieldnotes more up-to-date than those students who wrote their fieldnotes or typed them out in rough drafts for submission to the secretaries for final typing.

Among the staff of research coordinators, most became quite proficient at dictations and, at least two were proficient at dictation prior to the beginning of the project. This use of dictation, while it was often painful for the secretaries, was extremely valuable as a time-saving device for the research coordinators. Observers were encouraged to add to their fieldnotes when subsequent events or additions to information made material reported in preceding fieldnotes clearer.

During the planning year of the project, many discussions were held concerning the desirability of classroom videotaping, the use of still photography, and the use of audiotaping. Early on, the use of videotape

OAKWOOD : GB 151
Wednesday, August 1, 1979
Linda Watts

I.Key: ABSTRACT of Field Notes.

MG: periodical reports

Before class started I waited with some other students outside the classroom for the previous class to let out. MG was discussing periodical reports with RD,BN,and DA. S She says she looks at the Wall Street Journal every morning, and simply xeroxes articles from there to write her reports on.

Business: general rule x exceptions

AC→PR; PR→BR

As class started, PR was informally telling a story that led to the following statement: "That's the trouble with living by general rule -- what do you do with the exceptions?" This theme of generality recurred later in the class period (seep.2,ll.44-7). PR talked informally for about 20 minutes about "What's the news?"-- an article in the WSJ about Paul Volcker.PR asks who P.Volcker is, and AC responds. AC,asks a question and receives a detailed explanation. Then PR addresses a question to BR about an article she had reviewed, and she explains.

SCAN: (10:38)- PR in lecture/explanation mode -- emphatic, demonstrative; HC head on desk (has said she is tired and will leave at 11 today);DA not yet foot in synch.; ME3 doing math problems (for another course); NC writing in notes (does not seem to be class-related); HC now head back up, foot moving in slow synch; ME1 reading some kind of form; ME2 listening; books open: NC,DA,BN; others (incl.DA,BN) listening,apparently attentive.

erasing boards interface

PR moved into a series of linked stories about estate planning and then erased the board and had AN,RD and himself (all male) distribute WSJ's to everyone in class.We were two short, so AH shared with ME3,and MX shared with NC.

"spread": on text ?

AOQ

The rest of the class was given to PR's acquainting us with the contents of the Wall Street Journal (WSJ) -- PR has often told us that by the end of the course we should be able to pick up a business magazine like the WSJ and be able to read and understand most of it. PR explains the typical contents, and tells where to locate certain information. He points out what a "spread" is and says we should remember that term -- AC asks a related question about what a "prospectus" is, and PR explains. PR is walking around the room,asking us to locate spreads and see who can find the largest offer-- he sees one for 400,000,000$ in ME2's paper.(ND seems to be having some difficulty locating the right kind of information in his paper, but has not yet asked for assistance). PR discusses the high cost of advertising in the WSJ (one full rear page ad will cost at least 100.000$ to print), and he points out a book review in a WSJ he has at the front desk for THINK & GROW, by Hill, a book he strongly recommends we pick up and read.(ME1 is reading a college course schedule;.ME2,GI,BR, RN,HC,RD,ND,MG,AN are reading in the WSJ; others listening to P

7/26/79 - Linda Watts
Field Notes

Risk

10:45 - PR: "Well - all of ~~the~~ functions of marketing you know about -- Risk -- what kinds of risk?" AC first respondant: "competition"; PR responds, adds comment. BN: "consumer demand"; PR assents, adds comment. BN: "economy"; PR ditto. DA: "natural disasters"; PR: ditto. BN: "federal government"; PR: ditto; DA: "poor management"; PR: ditto response.

Question - Answer ↓

setting up a problem mode

ME3 writing a letter
SR & HC asleep

PR: "All right. Some risks are insurable; others are not. What kinds of risk would be insurable?" RD responds, then JT: "Fire"; PR: "What's that?"; JT: (clears throat, then): "Fire"; PR: "Fire". PR: "Okay. The ones that cannot be insured are ... -- okay -- now that you've got that down pat -- Does advertising increase the cost of management? What do you think? -- How about in the short run/the long run?" AC: "short run"; PR: "You think in the short run, is that what you said?" PR goes to board and draws (Diagram 2), setting up hypothetical situation about manufacturing TV sets -- explains as he presents this diagram (says students do not need to remember all these specific terms). (The third mode of speech delivery is this mode of setting up a problem: faster than lecture; slower, steadier, smoother than story mode) -- lots of eye contact -- glasses are off even though PR is writing at the board. While PR is still discussing graph, I scan the room. ME$_3$, I realize, has been writing an air mail letter all throughout the class today, is still doing so. SR and HC are both sleeping.

10:55 - Scan	Attentive	In-between	Inattentive
	AC	MG	HC
	RN	ME$_1$	SR
	DA	NC	ME$_3$
	ME$_2$	ND	
	BR	AN	
	BN		
	SB		
	GI		

PR: "Now, what's our first cost ... a whole host of things -- go to work". (Feet shifting: RD,RN,MX). "So the answer to the question -- does advertising increase the cost -- is yes, yes it does." (Notetakers: AC,RN,AN,RD,NC,DA,AH,BN,GI,JT). PR (sitting down at desk again): "I suppose advertising is the key to our whole success -- you know what 'breakpoint' is then? -- when costs are equal" (as per Diagram 2).

PR: "Okay. Now -- that's the last of all the new stuff -- hey, remember Maslow's list? -- Why don't you turn to it -- it's in Chapter 10" (finds page) -- "page 274." (All but HC, SR, ME$_{2,3}$ open books). PR asks who Maslow was, says he is still

[illegible] on text

OAKWOOD GB151
Monday, August 6 1979
L.Watts

Key: ADDENDUM to Field Notes- Conversation with DA

She is a military wife -- her husband stationed at military base. She&husband have one adopted daughter who is a fast learner and very special to DA. DA is returning to college now (her daughter is eight), and this is her first semester. She is taking only GB151. She plans to go on to get a two year medical assistant certification.

PR's Course recommend it to DA.

DA selected GB151 because it was recommended to her by a friend who had taken the same course with PR. Her friend had told DA that if she couldn't learn from PR, she couldn't learn from anybody. DA really enjoys the class, and is an A student. She comments that there's really no reason or excuse she can see for missing any of the test questions because PR is so careful to go over in class anything that will be on the test.

periodical reports

I asked DA how she goes about selecting articles to write periodical reports on. She says she just picks up a magazine at the base and reads the whole magazine because she finds the business periodicals so interesting. Then she'll write her report on an especially interesting article. She also tells me that "many of the girls" from class go over to the library and xerox articles to take home and write reports about.

I asked her whether she thought what we're doing in our library research groups would be represented on the test and she said yes, of course. I asked what kind of questions she expects, and she said that usually the questions are of an 'If --then' sort.

DA's group
ND quiet

DA is recorder for her group and has been recorder every time small groups have been formed. She is somewhat concerned about her present group because there are only three members including herself (ND,NC,DA), and ND is very quiet. She says that she and NC try to "draw him out" but he remains very quiet and isn't doing much work for the group. I asked her if she thinks he understands the material we're looking at and she says yes, she feels he does.

We talked a bit longer -- about DA and her life-- how it is mostly centered around her husband and child such that if her child were not healthy for any reason DA would quit school, and such that her husband will soon be transferred overseas to Belgium-- so she is hoping to find a way to get into a college over there.

AN joined us at our table. Soon after, PR came by and suggested that he and DA go over to a "corner somewhere" to talk (apparently they had arranged to get together to talk about something in particular). I talked with AN for a little while informally-- he was suggesting I might like to move to Korea to work when I graduate. We talked awhile then I got up to leave and AN went over to the library.

was ruled out on the following grounds: First, the research design already called for a number of quite painstaking and quite time-consuming procedures. The use of videotaping would have upped the time demands for analysis to an enormous amount. Most projects using videotape find that they analyze only a minute fraction of the total videotape that has been collected, often as little as 20-30 minutes. Since our purposes were much more macro, a focus on micro-ethnographic analysis did not seem appropriate. Given our interest in a broad comparative perspective, we felt that videotaping in a variety of classes would not be particularly effective. Secondly, since we did wish to compare across a variety of classes, the costs of videotaping would also have been prohibitive. Third, there was a potential of some problems with the site over the issue of videotaping. The dean of instruction expressed reservations about even the use of still photography, feeling that it might raise many, many legal hassles that would be difficult to resolve and, because of this, was not worth doing. The project staff concurred. Thus, the only videotaping done in the course of the project, was done in the last semester of observations in two classes and was primarily for the purposes of collecting dissertation data for one of the participant observers. These data were, of course, useable in the context of the overall project, though not to its fullest extent. Audiotaping in classes and also audiotaping of interviews was used selectively, always with the permission of the instructor and of the students concerned. When entire classes were audiotaped, participant observers had the responsibility of transcribing the class or of taking selective data from the tape. The same was true of interviews with students when they were taped, as these were much more time consuming than the typing of fieldnotes by the secretarial staff.

Observers were encouraged, whenever possible, to take down instructor and student activities, verbatim, in their fieldnotes and this was, of course, easier when a class was taped. Many classes did not lend themselves to taping, such as classes with labs or where students moved through a variety of work stations, such as in the Office Machines class or in the Automotive Fuel Systems class. In the case of student interviews, most students indicated a willingness to allow their interviews to be taped. In a few instances, when students could not be interviewed face-to-face on campus, interviews conducted over the phone were also taped, with the student's permission. In no cases was any material ever taped without the consent of those being taped. Faculty and administrators were much more reluctant to be taped and it was possible to tape interviews with them only in a few instances. When it was possible, these interviews were typically transcribed in their entirety. It was usually possible to take handwritten notes when interviewing faculty, though in a few cases it was not. When this occurred, notes were dictated or handwritten as soon as possible after the interview. Throughout the project, researchers were encouraged never to let more than an hour or two go by before notes were dictated if they were not taken during the context of the behavior that they observed. Nevertheless, some participant observers invariably got behind, a common problem in ethnographic research, particularly of the team sort. Dictation seemed to be a viable alternative, particularly when working from notes, for many observers. In short, it was a technique that tended to reduce the amount of time devoted to procrastination and to speed up production. Some individuals were never comfortable with dictation and, in those cases, the use of this technique was not productive for their own work. Four dictaphones and two transcription units were used throughout the course of the project and more units could have been utilized. Before researchers use the dictator option, we would recommend that they purchase extremely sturdy dictators and that they purchase dictators which are operated by one hand and small enough to fit into a purse or pocket. Our dictators are completely portable and measured 7" x 4" x 2", which made them a little too large and conspicuous for some field uses.

Use of Cards, Weekly Summaries, Journals

Researchers contemplating ethnographic team research should be aware of some of the pitfalls that may be due purely to office procedures or

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other operational procedures. For example, participant observers were supposed to produce weekly ethnographic summaries, as well as fill out the weekly charted activities discussed earlier. The weekly ethnographic summary became a casualty, in essence, because of the time delay between turning in the fieldnotes and receiving back the typed copy (see attached sample). Since observers no longer had the fieldnotes they had turned in and it would be 2-3 weeks before they were received back, they had no access to their notes in order to compile weekly ethnographic summaries. Therefore, this procedure only worked if individual researchers were typing their own fieldnotes, a procedure which also has some costs, primarily in terms of researcher time. In our case, since many of our participant observers were also graduate students and had courses to attend, the commitment of secretarial time to type fieldnotes actually speeded up the procedure, but clearly the best of all possible worlds would be to have participant observers who had nothing else to do but simply to observe and record their observations. Researchers, both participant observers and research coordinators, were also under the time pressure generated by the large size of the project and the division of project staff into different components which necessitated then, large amounts of time spent in research coordination and an exchange of information. All participant observers, as well as other researchers, were instructed to grab any documents wherever and whenever possible and to include these along with a description of what they were and their function, throughout the course of the project. The procedure for handling these documents, especially those documents such as handouts, syllabi, charts, etc. generated in classes, was as follows: Documents were numbered consecutively, beginning with the first document received and continuing throughout the semester. Each document was also dated in the upper righthand corner. The document was turned in with the fieldnotes and bound into the fieldnote notebooks. A running log was kept of each document's number, date, name and purpose or use. At the end of the semester, this log was added to the fieldnote notebook for that course. When documents were referred to in the fieldnotes, they were referred to by their number, date and name, whenever possible. Researcher-generated documents such as seating plans, drawings of the physical environment of the classroom, or of other spaces within the college, were also carefully labelled and dated and added into the fieldnote notebook.

One further device was suggested to participant observers for organizing their data, though relatively few observers actually utilized this option. This was the use of index cards to categorize and summarize data for coding from the fieldnotes. Observers did, however, for the most part, also use another card file system. This was the development of a single demographic profile card for each student and instructor in an observed class which recorded such information as the student's code name, ethnic identity, language, whether bilingual or not, and any other information that might be perceived to be relevant. Students were encouraged to transfer from the fieldnotes, using the line number and date, any references to the student that appeared to be significant so that all information about a single student was summarized on an individual card. Throughout the course of the project, participant observers were given suggestions drawn from the literature of the experience of other researchers on organizing and managing data, but some of the suggestions proved not to be useful to the observers, given their own particular working styles. Some observers developed additional data management systems which they shared with other observers in the training sessions held throughout the course of the project. Several of these were adopted during the course of the project.

Participant observers, during the pilot and during the first semester's observations in the fall of 1979, were encouraged to keep a fieldwork journal. There were several purposes for this journal. One was to provide an outlet for feelings of inadequacy, of frustration, which often accompany initial experiences in ethnographic fieldwork. A second purpose was to provide a chart for the student of their developing skills in participant observation and to provide a record of the development of their concepts and modes of analysis in fieldwork. Yet, another purpose was to record information relevant to their understanding

OAKWOOD : GB 151
Dates: July 30 - August 3 (Week 4)
Weekly Ethnographic Summary
L. Watts

([illegible] why PR asked me for my opinion about makeups on Fri., Aug. 3?)

PR introduced alot of variety in the types of activities and lecture styles presented in class this week. Monday was mostly an overview to the area of finance and the stock market. This was a very general, informal presentation (perhaps PR had intended to spend more time discussing test II results this day, but AN was taking the test during the class). Mostly, class consisted of PR story-telling, presenting his perspective toward the stock market in general conceptual and experiential terms. Class response was informal, too, though only 3 students were verbal participants (AC,RN,EN).

Tuesday, PR presented a more formal lecture style, discussing some key terms and assigning chapter 14, page 414 (the appendix) as a "terribly important" reading assignment. I noticed a general tendency PR seems to have of ignoring what could be considered negative classroom behaviors while reinforcing positive ones by various means. Along with this, it is apparent that certain students are expected to respond verbally in class while others are not (and this can be further distinguished, e.g., EN and JT are math respondants; AC and RN ask questions, etcetera), and this has probably been tied in with a sort of positive/negative reinforcement development all along (even though this behavioristic terminology most likely obscures at least as much as it reveals here). An example would be relating to the fact that MY was once very verbal, but by now is hardly ever verbal. Little eye contact from PR, and a 'weak' seating position in the class might have contributed to this.

Also on Tuesday, PR stressed that details of his explanations of terms were not as important as just the general concepts (for the test).

On Wednesday, it was still quite clear that PR likes to talk in class. All four student verbal participants this day (AC, RW, RD, DA) got into the speech flow only by asking questions, usually after a peak statement or during and interface. PR's response to such questions during the beginning of class was generally to accept the questions and provide explanatory answers; during the latter portion of class, he tended to answer the question and then flow right into story mode. He holds class discussion to a minimum this way. It was an interesting activity when PR distributed Wall Street Journals to us all so that we could see for ourselves what the contents of this business periodical are like. He helped us to begin to understand some of the information in the WSJ, which has been one of his explicitly stated course objectives form day one.

Most of Thursday was given to PR's defining of terms. PR stated clearly that some of these terms are in our notebooks (and texts, I imagine he means) , while others are not , so that notetaking was an explicit task on Thursday. Still, ND, HC, and the MG trio took little or no notes. Interfaces between terms being defined were clear in the lecture, and by now there are quite recognizable interfaces (i.e.:"Well"; "Now"; peak summary or viewpoint statements; erasing of the board; or story mode: linked stories).

Also on Thursday we looked at the WSJ's again in class and PR helped us learn to read the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) Composite stock reports therein, offering us his advice as a successful businessman and former broker. (Looking over the WSJ Wednesday night, I noticed alot of religious terms borrowed into the WSJ advertisements and into an article— see Business Mind-set, card 3).

On Friday, PR formed our library research teams. He was very deliberate in assigning specific individuals into specific groups for the most part (and I hear from individuals from 3 different groups (RD,RW,BR) that these groupings are very similar to previous groupings, too). Group leaders were indirectly assigned by virtue of the fact that each group has one obviously very strong member (at least), and the leaders are also to be the group "recorders" which PR assigns. These individuals carry the bulk of the responsibility for 'their' groups — it will be largely up to them to determine the participation levels demanded of other group members. In terms of literacy demands here, only the group leaders are being required to write up the reports; therefore, these persons are basically going to be the ones to organize the entire group endeaver and presentation, or so it appears. Still, all members will most likely receive equal objective credit for participation: a ✓ grade. I can already envision certain students being carried by the leaders without asking questions or learning the subject matter. In this sense, these weaker students seem to me to be being ignored potentially in much the same manner as PR ignores 'negative' classroom behaviors in general. These 'weaker' students will probably make it through the task, but will they be encouraged to go beyond the basically 'negative' expectations they have acquired in the class?

One element stood out to me while PR was introducing the library assignment (which, by the way, he did very clearly). This is that he recurrently treats a corporate business as a person. He attributes to a corporation,e.g., the quality of having "confidence in itself", and says (8/3,p.5,ll.1-4), "it's like a person", an idea introduced in an earlier lecture when he stated that legally a corporation is a person. Along with this I string some related recurrent concepts: predictability; general rule vs. the exception; risk.

A brief statement about attendance: SR was absent four out of five times this week, and hardly participated on Thursday when she did attend. She has missed all of the definitions PR has given this week.

Has she been getting notes from anyone? How will she perform on the exam, I wonder. Other absentees were either one or another of the Iranians, or key individuals who miss class rarely but occasionally (BR,GI,EN,RN,MG,MY one time each this week; RD twice).

In terms of rapport building, this week has been a good one. JT and AW are both keeping journals now. AN & I had a lengthy conversation Thursday (see Addendum 8/2) which was very informative about how he sees himself in relation to the class as a foreign, bilingual student. He expresses great difficulty understanding PR's speech style, which he says is too fast for him to understand. He says that 30% of the test questions (from previous exams) come from class lectures, not from the text, which he can read well. He also offered some information with regard to the Iranian students.

Also on Thursday, I conducted an interview with a C.P.A. major at who attended for two years. One significant feature of a business class through her perspective is what she refers to as a "weeding out process" whereby, in her terms, "by the end of the first week, the instructor is no longer looking at a class of 75 students; he is looking at a class of 15". She says that eye contact and student aggressiveness in class are contributive factors in this process. This could be seen as pertinant to the positive reinforcement of key individuals in the classroom and the ignoring or avoidance of 'negative' behaviors as discussed above for this class. More attention should be given to eye contact as one means of checking this out.

PR is a very thorough, authoritative, and provocative speaker who mixes formal with conversational tone in the classroom. He does not openly discourage any behavior in the classroom. He appears to be highly respected by most members of the class as an authority in his field and as an excellent instructor (see Addendum 7/31 for example); this is the general impression I receive, though it would be perhaps valuable to deliberately interview various students about their general response to PR's teaching style such that different degrees of response might be clarified.

Finally, in terms of emerging function of the p-o role, the Literacy Demands Summary form was created by K. and G. this week. This type of summary should specify information (any needs (the Lit. Demands) component ; also the reading component), complementing the ethnographic summary in that respect.

of the material they were observing, but which were of such sensitivity or confidentiality that these should not be placed in the fieldnotes, which were accessible to all members of the project team. The journal was confidential, was not turned in and was shared with other team members only when the participant observer wished to. It was also used as a place to record developing or emerging hypotheses and foci for observation which did not go into the fieldnotes.

Relatively few of the participant observers actually exercised the journal option, though those who did, felt that it improved their skills in participant observation and provided them with a sense of personal growth. The major reason for not continuing the use of the journal was the amount of time it consumed in addition to dealing with daily fieldnotes (see attached sample).

Unobtrusive Measures

The overall conceptual design for our research was to use multiple methods for purposes of triangulation. Thus, the project felt some of the measures outlined by Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Sechrest (1966) in Unobtrusive Measures: Non-Reactive Research in the Social Sciences to be a valuable source of ideas and information for research. They define unobtrusive measures as essentially those measures and methods which are neither questionnaires nor interviews. There are three areas of methods that they considered to be non-reactive, that we used extensively. These are participant observation, nonparticipant observation and the use of documents. Here we concentrate on those measures which were inspired directly by their work.

One of our significant concerns throughout the project was the fate of bilingual students, primarily those who were Spanish speaking, as they were the majority of bilingual and monolingual students on campus. Initially, in the study, we took one of their suggestions and looked at clumping or aggregation in seating patterns both in and out of the classroom. Examination of seating patterns in the cafeteria, for example, revealed that minority students not only tended to clump together but, in fact, had well-defined territories marked by long tables which served as gathering places throughout the day and, in fact, into the evening. Similar patterns of clumping of minority students were observed in classes. Seating patterns also were found such that older females tended to sit together and males of any age also tended to sit together.

Continuing concern with minority and bilingual issues led one bilingual research assistant, Ernie Lara, to pursue a very elegant non-reactive research design. The male participant observers were asked to record graffitti in the male restrooms across campus and also asked participant observers who were female, to record graffitti in the female restrooms throughout campus. Analysis of the ethnic slurs, by location of restroom, showed that the highest frequency of ethnic and racial slurs occurred in those restrooms which were adjacent to the two places in which minority students were most likely to occur; that is, the Student Union where there were special tables and services provided for minority students, and secondly, the classroom building in which the intensive English and ESL classes were held. Some of the restrooms had taped construction paper to the walls and extensive graffitti had been written upon these papers. These were then removed by the participant observer and saved for documentation, so that a content analysis of the slurs and jokes could be performed. Examination was also made of posters and notices placed on bulletin boards and comments recorded on these notices along with the nature of the notice itself were recorded and consideration was given as to whether the comments were in English or in Spanish.

Participant observers, both within and outside of classes were asked to record, or where possible to retrieve, each piece of print media found in and outside of classrooms, such as on bulletin boards and to keep a count of the kind of material and its location. This gave some index of the kinds of material available to students and where it was likely to be

Sample Journal Entries

Mon.,Aug. 6, 9:45 PM

Reading in the GB151 text. What is "Business" all about? Well, we're dealing specifically with the"democratic, capitalistic, free enterprise system".

Chapter I says natural resources are limited; human material wants are not. You are a "consumer". What you, as a consumer, consume are "goods" (note the positive timbre of the term: it is good to have material wants, material things are goods). Business (free enterprise) will PROVIDE GOODS to THE CONSUMER (who has free choice as to what Goods he will CONSUME).

COMPETITION. PROMOTION OF GOODS TO SELL DEMAND/DESIRE for a material product.And Life is based on the "profit motive"-- "earning" a living, "spending" time-- RISK and PROFIT and COMPETITION and ENTERPRISE.

Thurs.,Aug.2 -- after the conversation with AN

In general, this conversation with AN was very good, and as I told him, I learned alot. It was good to detour in the union before leaving campus. I had been wondering how on earth I would be able to get to know more about AN and the Iranians, also, as a matter of fact, ND! I almost didn't go to class because the log showed just another lecture class, but I sort of knew I should be there anyway, so went. Ethnology is interesting; it is also somewhat mystical as a field of endeavor. I mean you send out a cause (a thought, a sense that you need to find out about something specific), and somehow it manifests. In this sense, the p-o role is an odd one to me -- you do not really cause events (you're there just to observe and record them), but somehow events occur such that new dimensions are constantly being presented to you, if you're just receptive enough perhaps to perceive of the opportunities and flexible enough to act spontaneously. You act as a channel for various aspects of the total observation field to become evident through -- difficult to define; a joy to experience.

Thurs.,Aug.16

A slight typographical error made on the 8/9 notes highlighted an interesting point for analysis of the tape for that day. It relates to PR's speech modes. The segment:

> PR:"How about the mortgage on a building? ... long term, isn't it? ... fixed." (PR is hitting fist to palm in steady 2/4 time). He says, "Let me slow down. If a company has profits but does not declare profits, does the equity continue to grow? -- Yes." (He explains with some figures at the board).

The typographical error is that there is some PR speech omitted between when he is hitting his fist to his palm in a rhythm and when he states (realizing that the class is not with him,i.e., is not actively answering any of his questions at this point):"Let me slow down", and then does so, pronouncing that next question very distinctly.He still doesn't draw class response for awhile, but it was an interesting attempt. (8/9,p.4,9-15) found. In some cases, counts of the amount of material ordered or distributed were obtained to get some sense of the usage of forms and materials such as the catalog.

Early data from participant observers suggested, in the first semester of the study, that relatively few students were actually reading their textbooks. In an attempt to use the index of textbooks sold as an unobtrusive measure, the manager of the bookstore was interviewed. Unfortunately, the bookstore was run not at the campus level but at the district level and it proved impossible to obtain actual figures for numbers of textbooks sold. This would not have provided an index of whether or not the textbooks were actually read but it would have given some sense of their perceived importance to students. It was possible to obtain data on number of texts sold for only one class. However, this proved to be a particularly large class, the Introductory Psychology course, and the data showed that very, very few textbooks were sold. The bookstore manager also reported that there was an extremely high selling of textbooks by students and that the condition of the textbooks when sold back to the bookstore, indicated that very few of them had actually been used as the pages were unmarked, no names were placed into the book and many of them appeared not to have been opened, in the expert eyes of the bookstore manager.

In order to determine how much students utilized faculty time outside of classes and whether faculty provided help to students, participant observers were instructed to make random checks of faculty offices covering a wide range of time spans to determine whether faculty were 1) in their office during the stated office hours, and 2) how many students appeared during that time. Initial observations indicated that very few faculty actually kept office hours except in the developmental and ESL classes and this procedure was subsequently dropped as being too time consuming.

The use of documents throughout the study was pervasive at all levels. In the classrooms, participant observers had access to the grade reports for students with the permission of the instructors. Computer printouts showing each student's schedule of classes were also available. These were obtained through the cooperation of the college and the instructor. Documents were also used from a wide variety of sources in conducting the faculty ethnography. These included such things as minutes of Senate meetings, minutes of committee meetings the committee chairmen had made, documents and reports, college handbooks and reports such as residential faculty policies, hiring dates for faculty, tenure dates and access to computer printouts on the amount of overload teaching by full-time faculty.

The reliance on participant observation shows that unobtrusive measures were an important component of the study. We were not as creative as we might have wished in the use of other unobtrusive measures although some of this lack of creativity was due to lack of time. Those measures that were used provided valuable data.

Materials Analysis*

The general purpose of the materials analysis was to evaluate text materials along several dimensions which, according to the professional literature, are likely to have impact on the relative effectiveness and efficiency with which students are able to read and learn the content as prepared and presented by the author(s). The initial focus of the materials analysis was directed at the textbook(s) assigned in the various courses; however, this scope of inquiry has been broadened to include other forms of print media as well, specifically teacher-prepared handouts. The fundamental intent of the analysis the identification of the literacy demands created through assignment of specific text materials and reading tasks either associated with or emanating from use of these materials.

During the fall semester of 1979, the methods and procedures delineated in the following section were employed in each class under study. The results of these analyses were integrated and summarized into a "feedback" report which was presented to the instructor of each respective course.

Analytic Procedures

The evaluative process included two aspects of text: a) analysis and description of readability characteristics and parameters of the book(s) in use; and b) a descriptive and prescriptive analysis of various format and stylistic features of the texts assigned by instructors.

Readability

Since the textbooks analyzed were already in use, the focus of analysis was not merely limited to determining average book estimates, but included "mapping" intratext variability in order to locate and identify sources of variance. With this intent in mind, comprehensive stratified random sampling procedures based upon previous work by Bradley and Ames (1977) were adopted. Drawing a minimum of 24 sample passages (whenever feasible) per text allowed for intra and interchapter and intra and interunit comparisons. Increased sample size also accounted for increased confidence of book-level estimates. This extensive data set per text also permitted hypothesizing about probable effects of shifts in readability level as learners encountered the text(s) in successive and ongoing reading activities.

Since readability, in this analysis, was used only as a relative index of difficulty and not a measure of absolute value, Fry's Procedure (1977) was deemed a useful and appropriate tool to meet the purposes of this aspect of text evaluation. Every sample drawn was subjected to analysis by at least two independent evaluators to insure accuracy and reliability in the values computed. Arithmetic calculations and transpositions onto the Fry Graph were also conducted with the same rigor. For each text analyzed, standard descriptive statistics were reported.

Format and Stylistic Features

This phase of analysis focused upon a variety of written discourse properties that have been identified through experimental and quasi-experimental research as being either facilitative or inhibitory regarding learning from print material. Among the properties evaluated were 1) Format Features including chapter introductions and/or summaries, tables of contents, glossaries, indexes, etc.; 2) In-Text Aids such as illustrative materials (charts, maps, etc.), organizational cues, stylistic dimensions, and graphic design; 3) Adjunct Aids/Materials including marginal notations and pre, interspersed, and postquestions incorporated into the textbook (see attached example).

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*Developed by Keith Thomas.

Textbook Evaluation of:

College Algebra, Fourth Edition
Bockenbach, Drooyan & Wooton

I. FORMAT FEATURES

Criteria	Yes	No	Description or Commentary
1. Preface or Introduction to Text	X		
2. Table of Contents	X		
3. Glossary (Type)	*	X	List of symbols in front cover.
4. Index (Type)			
5. List of supplemental, suggested readings or additional references		X	
6. Special components: Table of Contents (types)	X		List of symbols as they appear in chapters and subchapters.
7. Introductions:	X		Definitions
A. Units	X		
B. Chapters	X		Followed by exercises
C. Guiding statements in above?			
8. Summaries:			
A. Units	X		Chapter review broken down by subchapters.
B. Chapters	X		
C. Consistent with guiding statements?	NA		
9. Special components (Identify)	X		
A. Calls attention to new processes			
B. Explains examples in steps.			
C. Margin notes correspond with examples given.			
D. Text gives example then step by step solution.			

Additional Comments:

Student needs a background in Algebra before entering this text. Note reference to this in preface.

Text has answer key in back of book. Answers to odd numbered problems only.

Text also has a form at the end to provide feedback to problems.

Appendix gives a compact outline of text chapter by chapter highlighting formulas, rules and theorems and provides a study guide setup.

II. IN-TEXT AIDS

Criteria	Yes	No	Description or Commentary
1. Illustrative Materials (Types)			
A. Photographs or drawings		X	
B. Charts, graphs, diagrams as apply to problems			
C. Maps		X	
D. Timelines		X	
E. Tables	X		Logarithms-square roots-primes
(Features) A. Instructions given on how to read (A) through (E) above. (clarity)	X		Text walks through step by step instructions in how to solve the given example; then the solution.
B. Contiguity to text	X		
C. Signaling devices?	X		
D. Dated?		X	
2. Typography and Graphic Design		X	
A. Use of color - purpose	X		To introduce or call attention to a new formula.
B. Use of Italics for emphasis Call attention to important idea	X		In chapter reviews*
C. Use of Boldface type for emphasis	X		To introduce new formula or definition of terms.
3. Chapter Organization	X		
A. Use of Subheads	X		Done by chapter number
B. Other forms of Division		X	
C. Study Questions, Guiding Questions, or Statement of Purpose (Focus)		X	
4. Stylistic Dimensions	X		
A. Organization and/or Structure Discernable	X		
B. Important Concepts/Ideas Given Superordinate Positions and are Indentifiable (Signals)	X		
C. Embedded Questions (Rhetorical?)		X	
D. Abstract Ideas/Terms Linked to Concreteness: (1.) Personal (2.) Situational	X		Introduce formula, then application questions in use of formula.
E. Use of Comic Relief, or Cartoons, Comic Narratives to Illustrate or Clarify Concepts /Ideas		X	

*Italics is used in algebraic problems to express the unknown.

Criteria	Yes	No	Description or Commentary
F. Vocabulary or New/Important Terms are Clearly Identified:	X		Introduced through context term introduced in bold face. Theorems set off by bold face then given a number as a subheading.
(Presentational Format) (1.) listings (2.) bold type (3.) italics (4.) colored art	2,3		
(5.) marginal notations	X		
(6.) through context only (infer)		X	
(7.) through content with impedded definitions, explanations	X		
(8.) other (specify)		X	

Additional Comments:

Marginal notes provide a quick outline or reference.

III. ADJUNCT AIDS/MATERIALS

Criteria	Yes	No	Description or Commentary
1. Learner - Oriented	X		
A. Marginal Notes:	X		
(1.) Footnotes		X	
(2.) Pronounciation Helps or Guides		X	
(3.) Illustrative Materials	X		
B. Introductory Statements with Guiding Questions:		X	
(1.) Units		X	
(2.) Chapters		X	
C. Guiding Pre-questions are Followed up with items/activities conceptually or ideationally consistent:		X	Chapters introduce concepts-give examples then exercises.
(1.) Unit Level		X	
(2.) Chapter Level		X	
D. Post-Questions provide for different tasks (skills) and operations (processes)	X		Student must apply formulas learned.
2. Teacher-Oriented			
A. Provides guide, manual, suggestions to assist in using applicable approaches/procedures for assessment	X		Text suggests the use of the student guide
B. Provides suggestions for alternatives for different groups of learners		X	
C. Provides pre-and/or post-learning evaluation techniques to assist in selecting most appropriate materials, resources, activities		X	Teacher would most likely have to supplement the text.

Additional Comments:

Exercises are after explanations - examples.

To evaluate each text efficiently, criteria were assembled in checklist form. The division of the instrument into three sections was intended to cluster conceptually related criteria. The Format Features Section, for example, catalogues text components that essentially describe the physical layout of the book. Many of these components are directed at either assisting the learner in locating information or providing him/her with an overall sense of the macro-structure of the content as organized and presented by the author(s). Individual criteria include features based on syntheses of recommendations from the works of Ball (1976), Krause (1976) and Jevitz and Meintz (1979).

In-Text Aids provides for an analysis of features that may be viewed as integral parts of the content presentation (a part of the text material itself). The criteria specified function at a more micro-level of analysis, i.e., individual chapters or subsections of chapters. Many of these criteria address how the content is developed/presented with focus on stylistic dimensions that may influence, either positively or negatively, content acquisition. Individual criteria in this section are based on recommendations made by Nelson (1978) and Campbell (1979) as well as research findings of investigations in learning from prose conducted by Meyer (1977), Bartlett (1978), Brandt (1978), and Swanson (1979).

The Adjunct Aids/Materials Section includes various featural devices intended for teacher, learner, or both, which are essentially contiguous to the actual presentation of content. Such devices would not necessarily be considered integral parts of text, and hence may be viewed as adjuncts, but adjuncts specifically designed to influence the potential for learning/teaching from the book. A number of the criteria subsumed under this section emerge from the research areas of adjunct questions, and advance organizers or cognitive organizers. Of seminal importance here is the potential effects that these adjuncts may have on shaping the text processing behavior of the learner. The most notable contributors to the characteristics listed in this subsection of the instrument are: Ausubel (1960, 1963), Frase (1967, 1968), Rothkopf (1970), Anderson and Biddle (1975), Rickards (1976), Faw and Waller (1976), Mayer (1978), and Vacca (1978).

The format of the instrument is consistent across sections and, initially, was limited to a singular assessment: the component, feature, or criteria under question was either in evidence or it was not. This format was adopted to insure some degree of objectivity, but the evaluative category entitled "Description or Commentary" was subsequently added to allow evaluators to generate subjective comments concerning the target criterion. This latter change seemed to make sense, since all such criteria are only relative in terms of their contribution to the whole (the entire book), and since how the text is likely to be used and with whom are obviously major considerations.

Suitability Analysis

Based on the findings in the classes studied, the data accrued through the analysis of format and stylistic features was subsequently reevaluated in a manner allowing for comparing texts featurally with the "types" of reading engaged in by students. The nature of this reevaluation and the basic descriptive findings from this secondary analysis comprise the remaining portions of this report.

Whereas the analysis of actions and operations from individual courses indicated that two generic types of "reading" occurred (Bitting and Texting), it was decided to reorganize the Format/Stylistic Features data of texts in a manner that would facilitate comparative study of these types of reading with the materials utilized during these operations. This would permit judging whether the features of various texts would likely complement or complicate the type of reading process employed. Using the existing criteria listed on the checklists, a reconceptualization of featural categories was initiated. Given the operational definitions advanced for differentiating between bitting and texting, three new categories were established:

Accessibility. This construct relates to the ability to locate information efficiently and fluently from a given text. In short, it refers to getting into proximity of the specific content a reader is most interested in accessing, with a minimal amount of interference. On the original featural checklist, most of the criteria subsumed under the category of Format were considered elementary for accessing print in this manner and for these purposes.

Direction. This construct relates to the amount of guidance, provided by the writers of the text, which would assist readers in discerning the variable relevancy among ideas presented. It is represented, in part, by the cueing used by authors to help readers differentiate between what is superordinate and subordinate, at least from the perspective of the writer. In this schema, it represents the degree to which a given text incorporates implicit or explicit cues which will probably effect the readers' focus toward certain information. In the existing checklist, the category of Adjunct Aids was principally comprised of devices which would characterize the Direction dimensions of text materials.

Clarity. This construct attempts to consider various aspects of the writer's style which would likely enhance or inhibit the reader's ability to understand the information/concepts developed in the text. As such, this dimension bears directly on getting meaning from what is processed through the operations of reading. In short, to the degree that a given text may be rated as being low in clarity, one would posit that readers might have some difficulty in comprehending the intended meaning. In the checklist we worked with, the category of In-Text Aids contained a number of criteria which have been empirically associated with the clarity construct.

Although each of these "new" constructs was related to and based upon an existing framework, there was no justifiable one-to-one match. Consequently, some of the specific criteria from the existing checklists had to be reorganized to conceptually conform to the new categories. The following listing indicates how the criteria were partialled out and redistributed in order to analyze the texts for Accessibility, Direction and Clarity. (Refer to accompanying checklist for specific criteria.)

Accessibility: All criteria listed under Format Features excluding #1, and including all of criterion 2 and criterion 3a and 3b from In-Text Aids category.

Direction: Criteria listed under Category 1 of Adjunct Aids, plus the addition of criterion 1 and 7 from Format Features.

Clarity: All criteria listed under category of In-Text Aids, plus criterion 1, 2, 7 and 8 from Format Features; and criterion 1b from Adjunct Aids/Materials.

Decisions regarding the specific reorganizations were both intuitive and empirically based (see Thomas, Stahl & Swanson, 1981). As is evident from the above listing, certain criteria were not considered mutually exclusive; a table of contents (Format Feature #2), for example, facilitates accessing specific information. Since it may also serve to present the macro-structure of the content development, it may also contribute to the overall clarity of material.

Having established the criteria for the new categories of Accessibility, Direction and Clarity, two procedural tasks remained: 1) developing a system for rating each text on the three new dimensions, 2) establishing which categories should be included to evaluate the ratings in terms that would permit appropriate comparison for various forms of "bitting" and "texting".

The first task posed several problems. Since the number of criteria varied across three categories, a simple aggregate total by category was

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not feasible. This was resolved by computing percentages to represent each measure. A second problem, far more troublesome, involved the fundamental question of whether one could actually determine whether one text exhibited more clarity, for example, than another just because, proportionately, more criteria were met which would tend to enhance clarity. The same question confounded the categories of Accessibility and Direction, since the outcome of these dimensions represents an "impact" that, as a whole, is not necessarily equal to the sum of its parts. Hence, in our opinion, such an evaluation cannot always be totally objective in the sense that it is based solely on an aggregate of the number (or proportion) of devices employed by a writer of text. Furthermore, the problem is exacerbated by differences among genre where form and function often combine to effect the purpose intended by the writer (consider a short story, for example, where the lack of clarity is judiciously employed in order to effect a surrealistic mood/tone). In addition, the original criteria were based on studies of learning from expository prose, rather than literacy forms. For purposes of this analysis, the problem was resolved by taking into account findings reported in the synthesis reports written for the instructors by the materials analyst. Whether this decision is entirely justifiable is a moot point; it was deemed the only viable alternative.

A third difficulty was encountered when deciding what ratings should be assigned to texts based on the resolution to the first two difficulties. Since this secondary analysis was unique to this study (and should be considered speculative), arbitrary levels were established to determine whether each text rated high, moderate or low in Accessibility, Direction and Clarity. A High (H) rating was awarded when a text met approximately 60-70% of the appropriate criteria established for each category. Moderate (M) ratings were assigned on the basis of approximately 40-60% of the appropriate criteria being met. When less than 40% of the criteria were met, the rating assigned was Low (L).

The second and final task previously noted involved the necessity of determining which categories, and in what combinations, would allow for valid comparisons given the operational definitions of "bitting" and "texting". Clarity appeared to be relevant to both since "understanding" or "comprehending" was accepted as being fundamental to all forms of goal-oriented reading behaviors. Given the other dimensions which differentiate between the two categories, it followed that Accessibility was more germane to "bitting" and Direction more significant to "texting". Hence, "bitting" ratings would be functions of Accessibility and Clarity; "texting" ratings would be based on values of Direction and Clarity.

In order to judge the relative suitability of a given textbook for "bitting" and "texting" the following combination of ratings reported in Figure 1 were established:

"Bitting"				"Texting"			
Suitability Ranking		Rating Combination Accessibility/Clarity		Suitability Ranking		Rating Combination Direction/Clarity	
1	--	H	H	1	--	H	H
2	--	M	H	2	--	M	H
3	--	L	H	3	--	L	H
4	--	H	M	4	--	H	M
5	--	M	M	5	--	M	M
6	--	L	M	6	--	L	M
7	--	H	L	7	--	H	L
8	--	M	L	8	--	M	L
9	--	L	L	9	--	L	L

Figure 1

Suitability Parameters Expressed as Functions of Accessibility and Clarity Ratings

In this schema, it should be noted that because the clarity rating contributes equivalent weighting in both suitability ranking scales and because the scales were developed on the basis of Clarity values (from High to Low), the maximum degree that either ranking could vary from the other was only two levels (e.g. 1-3, 4-6, 7-9). Also, the weighting of Clarity restricted variability to within the upper, middle or lower third of the scale. Hence, the difference between the two SR values is just as important as the respective SR values. A difference on only one rank suggests a marked distinction between the two; a difference to two levels (the maximum) suggests a significant distinction in contrasting the suitability of the text for different types of reading behavior.

Selection

Although we commented on the background rationale and specific procedures employed in materials analysis, the process of selecting materials for such analyses has not been fully reported. The following section, therefore, delineates how specific materials were chosen throughout the duration of the field study phase of the project. The last section includes a basic description of the entire data base.

Initially, all text materials samples were based on recommendations made by the instructors of the courses to which participant observers had been assigned. Titles of texts were ascertained from instructors as they linked the sources of content with their specific instructional objectives during the instructional design interviews. Copies of text material were accessed and analyses were conducted independent of input from other researchers in the project. Judgment of suitability of material for analysis was left solely to the discretion of the instructor assigning text to his/her course. The assumption underlying this approach was that instructors were the best source for determining the most relevant text for learning since they set the parameters for learning within their own courses.

At the conclusion of the first full semester of field study, several of the participant observer reports indicated little or no reading of textbooks that had been identified as important by instructors and which had been analyzed as part of the research effort. These "non-use" conclusions were generally based upon observations and interview data from the classes studied. In most instances, however, students did read some course materials. They simply did not always rely exclusively on text(s) designated as required by the course instructor. In order to collect as meaningful a data base as possible, an alternative strategy was instituted during the second full semester of field study. Instructors were still asked to identify the most significant text materials, but analysis was withheld until confirmation was received from participant observers that the material identified was, in fact, being read by students. In addition, an attempt was made to access alternative or supplementary materials (e.g. instructor-prepared handouts) that students perceived as particularly useful. This change in strategy may be depicted as a shift from determining effective stimuli on the basis of teacher perception to learner perception. This alternative strategy was employed during the third and final semester of field study as well.

In keeping with the rigorous sampling procedures employed in the computation of readability estimates, the final materials analyses were limited to pieces of extended text only. As a result of this condition and the selection strategies noted above, a total of 22 pieces of text were analyzed for readability parameters during this study (see Table 5 for basic descriptive data). In terms of differing genre, the data base included 12 textbooks, 6 lab manuals or workbooks, and 4 anthologies/compilations of readings. Two of the texts, designated as manuals, were prepared by the instructors of the course. The remaining 20 were professionally prepared/published. Nine pieces of text were analyzed from transfer courses, eight from occupational courses, and five from developmental courses.

Table 5

Mean Readability Estimates: Rank Order of Materials by Curriculum Tracks

Course	Transfer Material	Fry Value	Course	Occupational Material	Fry Value	Course	Developmental Material	Fry Value
HI 103	Text	16.5	GB 221	Text	16.8	RE 059	Text	9.8
PY 101	Text	14.8	BI 203	Lab Man.	15.0	EN 015	Text_1	8.8
HI 101	Text	14.3	GB 151	Text	14.0	RE 098	Text	7.7
PY 290	Text_1	14.2	AU 104	Text	12.3	RE 010	Text	7.0
PY 290	Text_2	13.5	AU 104	Lab Man.	12.3	EN 015	Text_2	6.7
EC 201	Text	11.7	HE 141	Text	11.5			
EN 102	Inst. Man.	11.6	EL 100	Text	11.1			
MA 117	Text	11.3						
EN 102	Text	7.6						

N=9 $\overline{M}$=12.8 N=8 $\overline{M}$=13.0 N=5 $\overline{M}$=8.0

Adjusted* $\overline{M}$=13.5

* EN 102 text, Literature Anthology, excluded

Results

Tables 5-14 present results of the materials analysis. Establishment of these tables was designed to facilitate comparisons across several categories of apriori interest. Since the data base was limited to the specific classes studied (a theoretical sample), results cannot be generalized beyond the courses and materials listed in Table 10.

Table 6

Readability Estimates: Rank Order of Genre - Difficulty by Courses

Textbooks			Manuals/Workbooks			Anthologies/Readings		
Course		Fry Value	Course		Fry Value	Course		Fry Value
GB221	(O)	16.8	BI203	(O)	15.9	RE059	(D)	9.8
HI103	(T)	16.5	AU104	(O)	12.3	EN015	(D)	8.8
PY101	(T)	14.8	EN102	(T)	11.6	EN102	(T)	7.6
HI101	(T)	14.3	OE205	(O)	10.3	RE010	(D)	7.0
$PY290_1$	(T)	14.2	RE098	(D)	7.7			
GB151	(O)	14.0	EN015	(D)	6.7			
$PY290_2$	(T)	13.5						
AU104	(O)	12.3						
EC201	(T)	11.7						
HE141	(O)	11.5						
MA117	(T)	11.3						
EL100	(O)	11.1						
Totals N=12		$\overline{M}$=13.5	N=6*		$\overline{M}$=10.6	N=4		$\overline{M}$=8.3

(Adjusted*: N=4, $\overline{M}$=12.3)

Key: (T) = Transfer Course
(O) = Occupational Course
(D) = Developmental Course

* Developmental course entries deleted (RE 098, EN 015)

Table 7

Mean Readability Estimates: Rank Order of Upper vs. Lower Division Course Materials Within Transfer and Occupational Tracks.

UPPER

Course	Transfer Material	Fry Value	Course	Occupational Material	Fry Value
PY 290	Text	14.2	GB 221	Text	16.8
PY 290	Text	13.5	BI 203	Manual	15.0
EC 201	Text	11.7	OB 205	Inst. Man.	10.3
N=3	$\bar{M} = 13.1$		N=3	$\bar{M} = 14.0$	

Total UPPER: N=6
$\bar{M}=13.6$

LOWER

Course	Transfer Material	Fry Value	Course	Occupational Material	Fry Value
HI 103	Text	16.5	GB 151	Text	14.0
PY 101	Text	14.8	AU 104	Text	12.3
HI 101	Text	14.3	AU 104	Manual	12.3
EN 102	Inst. Man.	11.6	HE 141	Text	11.5
MA 117	Text	11.3	EL 100	Text	11.1
EN 102	Text	7.6			
N=6	$\bar{M} = 12.7$		N=5	$\bar{M} = 12.2$	

Adjusted*: N=5 $\bar{M} = 13.7$

Total LOWER: N=11, 10*
$\bar{M}=12.5$, $\bar{M}^*=13.0$

* Adjusted here excludes value presented for EN 102 text (literature anthology)

Table 8

Mean Readability Estimates: Rank Order of Materials Within Courses by Learning Structure.

Developmental		Non-Developmental (Non-Lab)		Non-Developmental (Lab)	
Course	Fry Value	Course	Fry Value	Course	Fry Value
RE 059	9.8	GB 221	16.8	BI 203	15.0
EN 015	8.8	HI 103	16.5	PY 290_1	14.2
RE 098	7.7	PY 101	14.8	PY 290_2	13.5
RE 010	7.0	HI 101	14.3	AU 104_1	12.3
EN 015	6.7	GB 151	14.0	AU 104_2	12.3
		EC 201	11.7	OE 205 (I)	10.3
		EN 102 (I)	11.6		
		HE 141	11.5		
		MA 117	11.3		
		EL 100	11.1		
		EN 102 (T)	7.6		
Totals N=5	$\overline{M}$=8.0	N=11	$\overline{M}$=12.8	N=6	$\overline{M}$=12.9
		*N=10	$\overline{M}$*=13.4		

* Adjusted by deleting abberrant value of EN 102 text (anthology)

(I) = Instructor prepared material
(T) = Published text

Table 9

Mean Readability Estimates: Rank Order of Materials Within Upper and Lower Division Courses by Learning Structure.

UPPER DIVISION
(Non-Developmental)

Non-Lab		Lab	
Course	Fry Value	Course	Fry Value
GB 221	16.8	BI 203	15.0
EC 201	11.7	PY 290	14.2
		PY 290	13.5
		OE 205	10.3
Totals: N=2	$\bar{M}$=14.2	N=4	$\bar{M}$=13.2

Totals Across UPPER:
N=6 $\bar{M}$=13.6

LOWER DIVISION
(Non-Developmental)

Non-Lab		Lab	
Course	Fry Value	Course	Fry Value
HI 103	16.5	AU 104	12.3
PY 101	14.8	AU 104	12.3
HI 101	14.3		
GB 151	14.0		
EN 102 (I)	11.6		
HE 141	11.5		
MA 117	11.3		
EL 100	11.1		
EN 102 (T)	7.6		
Totals: N=9	$\bar{M}$=12.5	N=2	$\bar{M}$=12.3
N*=8	$\bar{M}$*=13.1		

Totals Across LOWER:
N=11 $\bar{M}$= 12.5
N*=10 $\bar{M}$*= 13.0

* Adjusted by deleting EN 102 entry (T), literature anthology.

Table 10
Readability
Estimates: Summation

Course	Text(s)	$\bar{m}$	mo		R	Mdn
Psych 290	Fundamentals of Psych Research (Wood)	13.5	17	4.6	8-17	14
	Doing Psych Experiments (Martin)	14.2	17,11	3	8-17	15
HI 103	The American Pageant (Bailey)	16.5	17	3.4	10-17	16.8
EC 201	Principles of Macro-Econ. (Amacher/Sweeney)	11.7	12	4.2	7-17	12
GB 221	Statistical Analysis for Business and Economics (Kazmier)	16.8	17	2.5	13-17	17
OE 205	Office Machines Handbook (Instructor)	10.3	11	2.9	6-17	11
HE 141	Understanding Nutrition (Whitney-Hamilton)	11.5	12	2.9	5-17+	12
BI 203	Microbiological Applications (Benson)	15	17	2.5	7-17	17
EN 102	Interp. Literature (Knickerbocker & Renninger)	7.6	12	5.8	2-17	10
	"Research Paper Torah" (Instructor)	11.6	12	3.1	6-17	12

Table 10 (continued)
Readability
Estimates: Summation

Course	Text(s)	$\bar{m}$	mo		R	Mdn
Psych 101	Psych & Life (Zimbardo, et al)	14.8	17+	2.7	9-17+	15.5
HI 101	Western Heritage (Kagen, et al)	14.3	17+	2.8	8-17+	15
GB 151	Intro to Am. Business Enterprise (Poe)	14	17+	1.9	8-17	16
AU 104	Fuel Systems & Emission Controls: Shop Manual (Layne)	12.3	17+	3.6	8-17+	12
	Fuel Systems & Emission Controls: Classroom Text (Layne)	12.3	15	3.5	7-17+	12
EW 015	Reading for Ideas (Pauk & Wilson)	8.8	8	2.8	3-15	8
	Least You Should Know About Writing (Glazier)	6.7	7	2.0	2-10	7
EL 100	Basic Electricity/Electronics (Sams-pub.)	11.1	10.0	3.3	7-17+	10.5
RE 098	The Relevance of Sound (Coolidge)	7.7	7	2.1	4-12	8

Table 10 (continued)

Readability
Estimates: Summation

Course	Text(s)	$\bar{m}$	mo		R	Mdn
RE 010	Light & Lively (Felder & Bromberg)	7	5	2.0	2-16	6
MA 117	College Algebra (Beckenbach, et al)	11.3	11	3	7-17+	11
EN 059 (Block II)	English Grammar (McClelland & Hale)	N/A	Format only: exercises			
RE 059	Reading Achievement (Reiter)	9.8	8	3.3	6-17+	9
MA 059 (Block I)	Arithmetic (Keedy & Bittenger)	N/A	Format only: workbook			

Table 11

Suitability Ranking (SR) of Text Materials by Courses Within Curricular Tracks*

TRANSFER				OCCUPATIONAL				DEVELOPMENTAL			
Course	SR Bitting	SR Texting	D ±	Course	SR Bitting	SR Texting	D ±	Course	SR Bitting	SR Texting	D ±
PY 290_1	1	3	-2	GB 221	4	4	NC	RE 098	6	6	NC
PY 290_2	1	2	-1	OE 205	3	2	+1	RE 059	3	1	+2
EC 201	1	1	NC	BI 203	2	2	NC	EN 059	2	1	+1
MA 117	2	1	+1	GB 151	1	1	NC	MA 059	1	1	NC
HI 103	1	3	-2	HE 141	1	1	NC	EN 015_1	9	8	+1
EN 102	5	6	-1	AU 104_1	1	1	NC	EN 015_2	3	2	+1
HI 101	8	9	-1	AU 104_2	1	2	-1	RE 010	6	6	NC
PY 101	1	2	-1	EL 100	6	4	+2				

Notes:
D = Difference between SR ratings.
± = Indicates, in this and all subsequent Tables, degree of variance between the two SR ratings.
− = Always indicates a negative difference in suitability for texting.
+ = Always indicates a negative difference in suitability for bitting.
NC = Indicates no relative difference in suitability for bitting or texting.

* All titles, authors of texts are keyed to entries in Table

TABLE 12

Suitability Ranking (SR) of Text by Genre Within Courses

	TEXTBOOKS				MANUALS/WORKBOOKS				ANTHOLOGIES/READINGS		
Course	SR Bitting	SR Texting	D ±	Course	SR Bitting	SR Texting	D ±	Course	SR Bitting	SR Texting	D ±
PY 290_1	1	3	-2	OE 105	3	2	+1	EN 102	5	6	-1
PY 290_2	1	2	-1	BI 203	2	2	NC	RE 059	3	1	+2
GB 221	4	4	NC	AU 104_2	1	2	-1	EN 015_1	9	8	+1
EC 201	1	1	NC	RE 098	6	6	NC	RE 010	6	6	NC
GB 151	1	1	NC	EN 059	2	1	+1				
HE 141	1	1	NC	MA 059	1	1	NC				
MA 117	2	1	+1	EN 015_2	3	2	+1				
AU 104_1	1	1	NC								
HI 103	1	3	-2								
HI 101	8	9	-1								
PY 101	1	2	-1								
EL 100	6	4	+2								

* All titles, authors of text are keyed to entries in Table

Table 13

Suitability Ranking (SR) of Upper vs. Lower Division
by Tracks (Transfer - Occupational).*

UPPER

	Transfer				Occupational		
Course	SR Bitting	SR Texting	D ±	Course	SR Bitting	SR Texting	D ±
PY 290_1	1	3	-2	GB 221	4	4	NC
PY 290_2	1	2	-1	BI 203	2	2	NC
EC 201	1	1	NC	OE 205	3	2	+1

LOWER

	Transfer				Occupational		
Course	SR Bitting	SR Texting	D ±	Course	SR Bitting	SR Texting	D ±
MA 117	2	1	+1	GB 151	1	1	NC
HI 103	1	3	-2	HE 141	1	1	NC
EN 102_1	5	6	-1	AU 104_1	1	1	NC
PY 101	1	2	-1	AU 104_2	1	2	-1
HI 101	1	3	-2	EL 100	6	4	+2

* All titles, authors are keyed to entries in Table

Table 14

Suitability Ranking (SR) of Text Within Courses by Learning Structure

Non-Developmental (Non-Lab)				Non-Developmental (Lab)			
Course	SR Bitting	SR Texting	D ±	Course	SR Bitting	SR Texting	D ±
GB 221	4	4	NC	PY 290_1	1	3	-2
EC 201	1	1	NC	PY 290_2	1	2	-1
GB 151	1	1	NC	OE 205	3	2	+1
HE 141	1	1	NC	BI 203	2	2	NC
MA 117	2	1	+1	AU 104_1	1	1	NC
HI 103	1	3	-2	AU 104_2	1	2	-1
EN 102_1	5	6	-1				
HI 101	1	3	-2				
PY 101	1	2	-1				
EL 100	6	4	+2				

* All titles, authors are keyed to entries in Table to give the reader a feel for the results of a textbook analysis, the one undertaken for College Algebra is reproduced below.

TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS OF MA 117

Prepared by: Keith Thomas

College Algebra, Fourth Edition
Beckenbach, Drooyan, & Wooton

Readability

The Fry Readability Procedure was used to estimate the average "difficulty" level of the text. Readability is the term usually applied to the product resulting from a quantitatively derived estimate of the relative ease or difficulty a given learner may anticipate while reading specified text materials. Readability values are generally reported in terms of grade-level equivalents; however, with upper level materials it is usually more appropriate to think of these values as relative indices of difficulty rather than absolute grade level designations.

Readability Analysis

Text: College Algebra, Fourth Edition: published by Wadsworth.
Authors: Beckenbach, Drooyan and Wooton.

Formula Utilized: Fry
Number of Samples Drawn: 24
Sampling Procedure:

Samples were drawn from 24 portions of the text. No set sampling procedure was used due to the limited continuous text segments available. twenty-two of the samples were drawn from pages which offered explanations of terms or algebraic formulas. Two samples were drawn from the exercises within the text representing word problems and requiring the student to apply his/her knowledge of previously learned formulas. One of the word problems samples fell outside the parameters of the Fry Graph and had to be discarded. The second sample revealed the Fry estimate of 7.0. A sampling of 100 words from the front cover of "Symbols" revealed the reading level of 3.0, suggesting that students may find this a relatively easy reference for terms/symbols encountered throughout the book.

Descriptive Statistics:

Range: 7.0 - 17+
Mean: 11.3
Median: 11.0
Mode: 11.0
Standard Deviation: 3.0

Implications:

The following implications are primarily based on a content analysis due to the limited number of text segments available for readability assessment. College Algebra assumes mastery of basic algebraic concepts although the first chapter offers a quick review of symbol notation and written explanations of how to express the symbols in conventional, oral language. The text provides step by step explanation of 1) formula introduced, and 2) how to go about actually applying the formula. Although the text provides an answer key (odd numbered problems only), it does not provide a step by step solution to problems. Further implications in terms of a content analysis are included under Analysis of Format and Stylistic Features.

Analysis of Format and Stylistic Features

Characteristics evaluated along this dimension are listed on the attached check sheets or charts. These charts include criteria that are likely to facilitate text comprehension and/or, in general, render the text a technically more useful and acceptable learning tool. The principle assumption underlying the facilitative effects of these criteria, assuming their inclusion, is that the learner (reader) is 1) fully aware of and competent to make use of these features, and 2) he/she appropriately applies these competencies while using the text to learn content. The charts are divided into three units: Format Features, In-Text Aids, and Adjunct Aids.

Format Features catalogues text components that essentially describe the physical layout of the book (with the exceptions of criterion 10 and 11). The chart indicates whether the component is included or not; where appropriate, remarks are entered in the commentary column for purposes of elaboration and/or evaluation.

In-Text Aids provides for an analysis of stylistic features that may be considered an integral part of the content presentation (a part of the actual textual material itself).

The Adjunct Aids section includes various featural devices, intended for learner, teacher, or both, which are essentially contiguous to the actual presentation of the content. Such devices would not necessarily be considered an integral part of text and hence, may be viewed as adjuncts, but adjuncts specifically designed to enhance the potential for teaching/learning from the text.

Summary and Implications

College Algebra, Fourth Edition, consists of somewhat typical math text format; explanations of formulas are followed by exercises of application. Reference tables and marginal notes set off in different colored print are used to cue readers/learners to important concepts or newly introduced formulas. For the most part, these components are clearly presented and it appears as though they would assist the learner in the intended fashion. Marginal notations summarize the main concept under discussion and should serve to assist in following the content development. Mastery of technical language of math and algebra, in particular, would be a requisite to successful comprehension of the short text segments.

Included in the text are four tables enabling learners quick access to common logarithms, exponential functions, natural logarithms of numbers, square roots and prime numbers. Aside from those points noted, the text format is rather traditional, having no particularly outstanding features which would either enhance or inhibit functional use of this particular book.

Pilot Interviews With Students*

The primary purpose of the pilot interviews conducted late in the fall, 1979 semester was to provide on-the-job training for our graduate student participant observers, most of whom had never used interviewing as a research technique. At the same time that interviewers were learning how to interview, we were piloting the framing of specific questions. Also, some participant observers used their interview data to supplement their observational data in their semester reports.

Background. Using Spradley (1979) as a text, participant observers read and discussed the purposes and techniques of interviewing during several weekly instructional component meetings. Semi-structured interviews were used so that participant observers would have to do less extemporaneous questioning. Furthermore, it insured that all participant observers would return with some data which could be coded and analyzed.

Several general suggestions were summarized as follows:

1. Respondents may be slightly more likely to give socially desirable information in face-to-face interviews. Be aware of this.
2. Quality of rapport may bias answers in either direction.
3. Always allow adequate time for an interview and more than you anticipate you will need.
4. Schedule your interviews at your subjects convenience, if possible.
5. The longer the interview, the more likely you are to lose your subject's interest.
6. The warmer your interviewing style is the more likely you are to gain complete responses.
7. Every question always receives an answer - but it may be a non-verbal one, in "I don't know" or not an answer to what you thought you asked.
8. LISTEN to the responses you get. If the answer is unclear to you, restate what you have heard, and ask the respondent if you have understood correctly. If this strategy is unsuccessful, you may have to probe or restate the question.
9. Audio taping may cause respondents to surpress statements they do not want recorded. On the other hand, audio taping allows the interviewer to listen and to monitor the interview, to pick up on non-verbal data, and to obtain more complete data. If you tape an interview, be sure to obtain the interviewer's permission before turning on the tape recorder. The interview topics were derived from the framework emerging from the initial instructional design interviews, participant observation, materials analysis and "friendly conversations" with students.

Sampling. The sampling frame for the student pilot interviews was based on the courses we were observing in the fall 1979. Thus, students in the following classes were interviewed: Automotive Carburation and Fuel Systems, Survey of Electronics, History of Western Civilization, General Psychology, Language Skills, and Developmental Arithmetic. Participant observers were told to select respondents who varied along demographic factors as well as those who were informed and informative about the classroom scene. Most participant observers completed between four to six interviews.

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* Developed by Betsy Brandt

Students in transfer classes were not easy to approach for interviews since they tended to come into class immediately before it started and to leave right after class ended. To obtain a sample of students, we used a contact card. The contact card called for information pertaining to name, address, work and home phone numbers, and time of day and day of week when student was available for an interview. By having the student's telephone number(s) it was possible to contact them outside of class. Also, if follow-up information was desired after the course was completed, the interviewer had a way of making contact.

In addition, it was necessary to do a few interviews over the phone. Phone interviews were facilitated by "phone patches" purchased through a commercial outfit for under $1.00 a piece. If the student agreed to have the phone interview taped, the patch was hooked up to the phone and tape recorder and the interview was recorded directly onto the tape.

Interviewers. The interviewers were five graduate students and a professor of anthropology. Four interviewers were female while two were male. One interviewer was a bilingual Hispanic while the others were Anglos. Each interviewer interviewed students from the class they were observing. The anthropologist also conducted the training sessions on interviewing.

Procedures. An initial set of issues were developed based upon input from all members of the steering committee. Then, a subcommittee within the instructional component reviewed the issues and considered them in relation to the component's preliminary findings. Based upon the issues and component findings, an interview schedule was drafted by the resident anthropologist. A set of guidelines for interviewing was developed. Interviewers were instructed to:

1. Schedule carefully to allow you and the person you are talking with enough time.

2. Clearly explain the purpose of the interview and reassure them of the confidentiality of the data. This may need to be done at different points in the interview.

3. Make the interview as relaxing and easy as possible. It should be interesting for both of you and you want to continue to build rapport. Listen to their answers, restate and clarify in their own words when necessary. Smile, use eye contact and body language. You are talking to a person. Use the leads or some appropriate variant of them, to gently guide the interview, but if a very interesting point comes up that you feel is important to pursue, do so. The interview is a learning process for you and a discovery process for our research as a whole.

4. Make sure your purpose in asking the question and the words used in asking it are clear. You may need to rephrase or use an example that is relevant to your class.

5. The probes can be used to expand, clarify or remind you of an aspect of the question that may not have been covered in the person's initial response to the broad question.

6. Observed demographics: Please record from your observation or prior knowledge, the following information about the person immediately before or after the interview:

   a. approximate age

   b. sex

   c. ethnic identity, including language, if bilingual

   d. special group, if known (Veteran, freshman, etc.)

e. any other important information for your class (very verbal, poor attendance, etc.)

f. Name or code name

7. People often want to know the outcomes of a study to which they have contributed data. In our case, this is more difficult since ours is a long-term study, but since we are providing an outline of objectives and demands to the instructor, we can make arrangements to get this to a student if they really want it. This would have to be arranged with the student. If given, this must be general information in keeping with the provisions of confidentiality.

8. Talk enough before you begin the interview to put the person at ease, then open, move through the topics, and close the interview.

9. Keep your tape of the interview until you have completely processed any information you will need. Start processing each interview as quickly as possible after that interview. We will give you some guidelines for this, but you may also have strategies that are very useful for you.

The decision was made to ask the questions in a prescribed sequence because interviewers lacked experience in formal interviewing. The schedule was coordinated with the overall research questions by category. The initial question was fairly open-ended. The category "objectives" (about which most students had something to say) was selected to lead off the interview schedule to get the interview off to a good start. All open-ended items were accompanied by multiple probes that touched on areas that may not have been covered in the initial answer or clarified the basic answer. If a response was unclear, interviewers were instructed to ask students to clarify their responses after para-phrasing them.

The interviews took place, for the most part, outside of class in the LAC, cafeteria and other places conducive to face-to-face interviewing.[2] At the outset of the interviews, interviewers stated. "I would like to ask you some questions about your experience at Oakwood and in this course. Your responses will be confidential and will be used for the purposes of the Literacy Development Project. Our project focuses on the demands which going to college places on a student and students' responses to those demands. Your responses to these questions will help me to better understand how you see Oakwood and what a student's academic life is like.

If you are willing, I would like to tape this interview so that I can listen to you better and not have to bother to take notes while your talking."

If the student did not object, the interviewer put the recorder in an unobtrusive location and started the recorder.

Interview Schedule. The questions for the semi-structured interview were mostly open-ended although the activity segment of the Interview Schedule called for the respondents to make ratings of importance and frequency on Likert-type scales. Each open-ended question on the interview schedule was accompanied by a list of probes or leads. The schedule was divided into six sections related to: a) objectives; b) resources; c) activity; d) skills; e) methods; and f) outcomes. These questions and their probes are appended. At the conclusion of the interview, the interviewer said:

> "Those are all the questions I have. You have really helped me get a better understanding of many things I didn't know before. Is there anything that you feel is really important that I should know that I didn't ask about? (IF SO, LISTEN.) Thank you very much for the time you have given me. I really appreciate it."

Contact Card. The contact card was very helpful in reaching students and setting up appointments for interviews. When students did not show up, it also provided an easy way to reach them. The contact card appears below.

CONTACT CARD - LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE PROJECT

Name ____

Address ____

Telephone: Home ____________________ Work ____________________

I would prefer an interview:

a) on campus: Day(s) and time(s) available:

b) off campus: Day(s) and time(s) available:

ENDNOTES

2. Telephone interviewing was done when it was not possible to find a convenient time to interview the student on campus.

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STUDENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE-PILOT STUDY

Objectives:

The first question I would like to ask is:

1. Why are you taking this ____________________________ course?

PROBES: Is this course:

Required for your major?
Required for your program?
Required for your degree?
A prerequisite?
An elective?
Other?

2. How did you end up in this particular class?

PROBES:
required?
adviser?
interest?
time?
teacher?
others closed?
easy/challenging?

3. What were you hoping to get out of this course?

4. What do you think you are going to get out of it now?

5. What made you decide to attend college?

5.1 How did you happen to pick OCC?

PROBES:
program
personal goals
other

6. Do you have a particular area you wanted to study?

RESOURCES OF STUDENTS

7. In your planning to attend OCC, what things had to be worked out to make it possible for you to attend?

PROBES:
funds
child care
transportation
time
family support (emotional or resources)

THIS NEXT AREA IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FOR THE MATERIALS ANALYSIS. BRING THE TEXT, WORKBOOK, ETC. WITH YOU TO HAVE AVAILABLE FOR A DEMONSTRATION TO THE STUDENT. FOR EXAMPLE, CAN YOU SHOW WITH OUR TEXT, JOURNAL, NOTEBOOK, HANDOUT, ETC.

THESE QUESTIONS MUST BE MODIFIED TO FIT THE MATERIALS AND SITUATION IN YOUR CLASS. PLEASE PROVIDE A COPY OF YOUR MODIFICATIONS.

Lead: Going back to our specific class, I would appreciate your opinion on some of our class activities. Our study is interested in the demands that college places on students and that includes both homework and in-class activities. For example, we have a textbook required (or substitute relevant example). Do you think that textbook is particularly important to passing the class and how often do you get a chance to use it?

What I did to make this easier for us was to put all our activities on a form (hand the student the form) that we can just check off. Work through the form with the student.

Lead: Now, I'm particularly interested in how you approach a couple of these activities. Let's go back to the textbook. (If you have the time, use the textbook and go through the specifics demonstrating where needed features of the text.)

8. When do you use your textbook?

   8.1 Is it for a particular reason?

9. When you read, what parts do you read? (Probes or demo here on text features.)

   9.1 Example: do you use the
   index
   table of contents
   boxed materials
   etc. (specific to materials)

   9.2 How do you decide what's important to read?
   9.3 How often do you re-read a section? Do you take notes?

10. What about handouts the instructor gives out?

   10.1 Do you use them for studying?
   10.2 How do you pick which ones to use?

11. How do you study for a test?

   11.1 Do you study with other students?
   11.2 For a regular class?

12. What's most useful to you in getting the information you need for the class?

PROBES:
your own study
information from lectures
study with other students
borrowed notes
homework assignments
tutor(s)
my notes
the text
the workbook

13. Overall, what do you think is the most important thing a student has to do to pass this class?

Lead: We've talked now about class activities and materials. What about you as the student?

FOCUS ON STUDENT SKILLS

14. What study skills (techniques) do you use which work for you?

   14.1 Which don't?

15. When did you learn the things you mentioned in No. 14?

   15.1 How did you learn it?

PROBES:
learned yourself
someone taught you (who?)
observation
friend
past experience
other student in class
instructor directions
instructor suggestions

FOCUS ON METHODS

Lead: I'm also interested in your opinion of some of the methods our teacher uses. (The phrasing here must depend upon the method of methods used in your class; if there are several, ask which they prefer and why.)

16. In our class the instructor (lectures, uses recitation, questions, etc.). What is your opinion of it? (or each, if several)

   16.1 What is it about that method(s) that is particularly useful to you?
   16.2 What about in other classes? Is that method(s) useful to you or do you prefer something else?

17. Are there things about our instructor's method(s) that you dislike?

17.1 Are there other things that the instructor does that you dislike?

Lead: The last thing I'd like to know about is your interest in the subject.

18. What do you like about the subject?

18.1 What do you dislike about it?

Lead: What about other subjects?

19. Are there other courses or subjects you avoid?

19.1 Are there others you really want to take?

OUTCOMES:

20. Have your goals changed since you came to OCC?

20.1 How and why?
20.2 Has this course affected your goals?

Structured Student Interviews*

The primary purpose of the structured interviews with students was to compare data from the students' perspective with the data collected by participant observers. At the same time, we used the interview data to profile types of classes (e.g. developmental vs. transfer), to examine relationships between variables (e.g. do students in developmental and transfer classes have different reasons for taking classes?), and to triangulate our findings with the instructional design interview data and participant observation data.

Background

Using participant observer reports from the fall 1979, the preliminary results from the pilot interviews and what we learned about the interviewing process, a longer version of the interview schedule was developed. For example, in the initial (pilot) interviews, we asked respondents to indicate whether they thought each of several skills was important. In almost all instances, respondents answered "yes", rendering the data relatively useless. For example, in the revised version of the interview schedule, while we kept the 'rating' questions for reading, we also asked a series of 'process' questions about reading as an activity. Because this interview schedule was very long, containing 147 questions, the decision was made to use structured interviews. By using structured interviewing, we also were striving to achieve comparability in the data collected by five interviewers. Some interviewers audiotaped their interviews, after obtaining permission from the student. (A sample Informed Consent Slip is attached.)

Tapes were not transcribed, however, as the enormity of the task was judged to outweight the benefits. Concern was also raised about the length of the interview schedule. However, in an item-by-item review of the schedule, prior to printing, advocates vetoed elimination of any item. Thus, the interview schedule in its entirety was reproduced. The interview topics were derived from the framework and preliminary analysis of the first semester data base.

Sampling

The sampling frame for the structured student interviews was based on the courses we were observing in the spring 1980. Thus, students in the following developmental classes were interviewed: a) Block I; b) Block II; c) Intensive ESL for Spanish Speakers; and d) Reading English as a Second Language; and e) Freshman English Review/Freshman English I. Concurrently, students in the following transfer classes were interviewed: a) College Algebra; b) Analytical Geometry and Calculus; and c) English Composition. Participant observers were told to select respondents with whom they had established rapport. Since rapport building was occurring throughout the semester, this did not represent an obstacle. In fact, some students expressed dissatisfaction over not being selected for an interview. Again, the emphasis was placed on selecting students considered to be local experts by their peers and the participant observer. Also, participant observers were asked to make sure that the students selected varied in terms of their background characteristics.

Because participant observers anticipated doing interviews from the outset of the semester and were now 'experienced' participant observers, the contact cards were not needed. Participant observers, for the most part, were able to recruit more interviewees than they had time to interview.

Participant observers completed 6-8 interviews per class (or block), yielding a total of 60 interviews for the eight classes/blocks. Each interview took approximately one hour to administer.

---

* Developed by Elizabeth Fisk, Liz Warren, Julie Bertch and Nancy Siefer.

INFORMED CONSENT PROVISION - Research Project

Literacy Development in the Community College.
Funded under National Institute of Education,
Contract No. 400-78-0061.

NAME ____

I understand that my name and the source of the data provided will be kept confidential and that the data will be used solely for the purposes of the Literacy Development Project.

I have read, understand and grant permission, in accordance with the above statement, to the Literacy Development Project.

SIGNATURE ________________________________ DATE __________

Demographic Characteristics of Students

The demographic characteristics of students who were interviewed are summarized in Table 15. Frequencies and percentages are given for the entire sample and separately for developmental and non-developmental classes. For this analysis, the transition class, Freshman English Review/Freshman English I was considered a transfer class. Fifty-three percent of the students were enrolled in a developmental class, while 47 percent were enrolled in a transfer class.

A slightly higher percentage of interviewees were men (53% vs. 47%). Men were more prevalent in transfer classes (61% vs. 39%) while women were slightly more prevalent in developmental classes (53% vs. 47%). The modal age interval was 17-20 (30%). An additional 27% of the sample was between the ages of 21-25 with 15% consisting of students aged 26-30. Thus, 72% of the sample was 30 years old or less. Transfer students were younger than developmental students. The 17-20 age bracket comprised 54% and 9% of the transfer and developmental students, respectively. On the other hand, the age bracket of 26-30 comprised 25% and 4% of the developmental and transfer students, respectively.

The modal marital status of respondents was single (50%). Twenty-seven percent were married. Transfer students (71%) were more likely to be single than developmental students (31%). Developmental students were more likely to be married (44% vs. 7%) than transfer students. Most respondents had no dependents (57%). Thirteen percent had four or more dependents. Transfer students were more likely not to have any dependents as compared to developmental students (79% vs. 38%). Developmental students were more likely than transfer students to have two dependents (22% vs. 7%), three dependents (16% vs. 4%), and four or more dependents (19% vs. 7%).

Half of the respondents were born in the Southwest, while 17% were born in Latin America and another 16% were born in the Northeast. Transfer students were more likely than developmental students to be born in the Southwest (59% vs. 42%) and the Northeast (22% vs. 10%). Developmental students were more likely to be born in Latin America (26% vs. 7%) and Asia (10% vs. 0%). The most prevalent native language was English (48%) with Spanish running a close second (41%). Transfer students were much more likely to speak English as their native language than developmental students (85% vs. 19%), while developmental students were much more likely to speak Spanish as their native language relative to transfer students (66% vs. 12%).

Thirty percent of the students were engaged in work-study. Developmental students were more likely to be employed in work-study than transfer students (47% vs. 11%). Most students either did not work at all (38%) or worked at least 20 hours per week (48%). Transfer students were more likely than developmental students to not be working (54% vs. 25%). Developmental students were more likely than transfer students to be working more than 20 hours per week (22% vs. 7%). The majority of the students were not receiving financial aid (52%). Transfer students were more likely than developmental students to not be receiving any aid (68% vs. 38%).

Interviewers

The interviewers were five graduate students. Four interviewers were female while one was male. One interviewer was a bilingual Hispanic, another was a bilingual Anglo and the others were monolingual Anglos. Each interviewer interviewed students from the class they were observing. Four of the five participant observers had been involved in the pilot student interviews conducted during the previous semester and, thus, were relatively well versed in the type of interviewing they were doing.

Table 15

Demographic Characteristics of Students Interviewed According to Type of Program

Characteristic	Program					
	Developmental		Non-Developmental		Row	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Type of Class						
Developmental	--	--	--	--	32	53
Transfer	--	--	--	--	28	47
Gender						
Female	17	53	11	39	28	47
Male	15	47	17	61	32	53
Age						
17-20	3	9	15	54	18	30
21-25	9	28	7	25	16	27
26-30	8	25	1	4	9	15
31-35	4	12	3	11	7	12
36-40	1	2	0	0	1	2
41-44	2	6	1	4	3	5
45-55	3	9	1	4	4	7
56+	2	6	0	0	2	3
Marital Status						
Single	10	31	20	71	30	50
Married	14	44	2	7	16	27
Divorced	3	9	3	11	6	10
Widowed	1	3	1	4	2	3
Separated	4	12	2	7	6	10
Family Type						
Nuclear	28	88	17	65	45	76
Family Living	4	12	0	0	4	7
Unknown	0	0	10	37	10	17
Number in Family Type						
0	4	12	8	29	12	20
1-3	6	19	4	14	10	17
4	4	12	4	14	8	13
5	6	19	5	18	11	18
6-8	6	19	5	18	11	18
9+	6	19	2	7	8	13
Number of Dependents						
0	12	38	22	79	34	57
1	2	6	1	4	3	5
2	7	22	2	7	9	15
3	5	16	1	4	6	10
4+	6	19	2	7	8	13

Table 15 (continued)

Characteristic	Program					
	Developmental		Non-Developmental		Row	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Place of Birth						
SW	13	42	16	59	29	50
NW	1	3	1	4	2	3
NE	3	10	6	22	9	16
SE	1	3	2	7	3	5
LA	8	26	2	7	10	17
Asia	3	10	0	0	3	5
Other	2	6	0	0	2	3
Native Language						
English	6	19	22	85	28	48
Spanish	21	66	3	12	24	41
Asian	3	9	0	0	3	5
Other	2	6	0	0	2	3
English/ Spanish	0	0	1	4	1	2
Work-Study						
Yes	15	47	3	11	18	30
No	17	53	25	89	42	70
No. of Hours Working						
0	8	25	15	54	33	38
1-19	2	6	2	7	4	7
20	7	22	4	14	11	18
21-25	7	22	2	7	9	15
26+	7	22	2	7	9	15
Irregular	1	3	3	11	4	7
Financial Aid						
No	12	38	19	68	31	52
Yes	20	62	9	33	29	49

Procedures

The results of the fall 1979 interviews were analyzed in terms of the products and the process. Semester reports by participant observers, the instructional design interviewer and the materials analyst were also screened for potential topics and phrasing of items. Then, an initial set of topics and questions were generated by three participant observers.

This interview schedule was reviewed by all members of the instructional component. Numerous suggestions made regarding the specific wording of the items and their sequence were incorporated into the interview schedule.

The decision was made to ask the questions in a prescribed sequence because of the overall length of the interview schedule. The schedule was coordinated with the overall research questions by category. The questions were a mix of open-ended and closed-ended items. The category demographics was selected to begin the interview so that the students would not have any difficulty in responding to the initial questions. Wide margins were left throughout the interview schedule to permit the interviewer to comment directly on the interview schedule. Comments were typically related to difficulty with the item, clarifications or nonverbal behavior. If responses were unclear, interviewers were instructed to ask students to clarify them.

Almost all interviews occurred in face-to-face meetings. Developmental students were often employed as work-study students. They were relatively easy to interview on campus. Transfer students were more difficult to schedule interviews with as they tended to enter and leave the campus soon after courses were completed. Thus, it was necessary to conduct a few phone interviews with transfer students. Contact cards were used by participant observers anticipating problems in actually scheduling and completing the interviews (see preceding section on pilot of student interviews). Some of the interviews were taped although they were not transcribed. If the interviewer wanted to tape the interview, permission was first obtained and then the recorder was placed in an unobtrusive location.

Interview Schedule

The questions for this structured interview schedule were derived from our emerging framework. Specifically, the schedule consisted of six sections related to the a) participants; b) objectives; c) resources; d) activities; e) outcomes; and f) ideal situation. The interview schedule is attached. At the conclusion of the interview, students were asked if they would be willing to be interviewed again.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I. Demographic Data

1. Code name

2. Interviewer

3. Class

4. Semester

5. Year

6. Sex

7. Age

8. Marital Status: Single____ Married____ Divorced____ Widowed____ Separated____

9. Number in family

10. Number of dependents

11. Ages of dependents

12. Birthplace City ____________________ State ____________________ Country ______

13. Native language

14. How long resident of United States? Years ____________ Months ____________

15. How is your vision? Excellent ______ Good ______ Fair ______ Poor ______

16. How is your hearing? Excellent ______ Good ______ Fair ______ Poor ______

II. Background

17. What kind of work do you do?

18. Where?

19. Major duties

20. How did you like that kind of work?

21. Is that what you've always done?

22. How many hours do you work each week?

23. Does this employment provide you with the financial means to attend school, or do you also need financial aid?

24. Are you receiving financial aid? Yes ____ No ____

25. How important was education in your family you grew up in?

26. How much education did your mother have?

1 - 6 yrs. ____, 6 - 8 yrs. _____, some high school _____,

high school grad _____, GED ____, years of college ____

College degree ______

27. How important did she think it was for you to go to school?

28. Are other members of your family also attending OCC? Yes ____ No ____ Relationship ____________________

29. Do you want your children to go to school?

III. Objectives

30. What made you decide to attend college?

31. Do you have a particular area you wanted to study?

32. What are your educational goals? GED____ AA Degree (kind)____________ Certification__
University_______ Develop specific skill ________

33. How did you happen to pick OCC?

34. Did anyone advise you to come here?

35. How did you get into this class?

36. Did anyone tell you about it?

37. What were you originally hoping to get out of this class?

38. Are you getting what you hoped you would or something else?

39. Have your personal goals changed since coming to college?

40. Has this course/courses affected your personal goals?

IV. Resources

External

41. What things had to be worked out so you could come to GCC?

---

42. What things are helping you attend?

---

43. What things make it harder?

Of College

44. What Student Service(s) at GCC do you use?

a.Chicano Services____ b.Special Services____ c.Counseling____
d.Financial Aid____ e.LAC____ f.Other____________________

---

45. Why?

a.
b.
c.
d.
e.
f.

---

46. How did you hear about it(them)?

a.
b.
c.
d.
e.
f.

---

47. Did it work for you(using this service)?

	Yes	No
a.	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____
d.	_____	_____
e.	_____	_____
f.	_____	_____

IV. Resources (cont.)

48. If you need help with classwork, who do you ask? Instructor____ Tutor_____ Another student_____

49. Is having tutors in the class worthwhile?

50. If you need help outside of class, do you go to the Instructer's office? Tutor____ Student____ Friend____ Family member____ Other____

51. Do you go to the LAC? Yes No

52. Do you use the Library? Yes No

53. How?

54. Have you ever used the Counseling Services? Yes____ No ______

55. Is the Counseling class as important as the other parts of the Block?

Internal

56. What things about you have helped you in college? (Skills, attitudes, experience, personal characteristics)?

57. What things about you have held you back? (lack of skill, experience, confidence, personal characteristics)?

V. **Activities**

Attitudes toward class/block

58. Do you like being in the block (or the class)? Yes____ No____

59. What classes other than block courses are you in?

60. How do you like the other classes you are in?

61. Do you like one class in the block better than the others? Yes____ No____ Which ________

62. Are there any you don't like? Yes____ No____ Which ________

63. What do other students think about the block classes?

64. What do other students think about the students in the blocks?

65. How do you like the way the Instructor runs the class?

66. Would you change anything?

67. Do you know what the instructor(s) expects of you in class?

68. Do(es) the instructor(s) take into account what you already know? Yes____ No____

V. Activities (cont.)

69. How do you think the Instructor feels about the students in the class?

70. Does the Instructor call you by name? Yes____ No____ First name____ Last name____
Like____ Dislike____

71. How would you describe the other students in the class?

72. Is everyone here a serious student? Yes No

Literacy Activities
GENERAL

73. What's the most important thing to do to pass the course?

74. How did you learn that?

75. How do you know when you need to study more?

76. What techniques do you use to study?

77. When did you learn them?

Test-Taking

78. What do you think about the way the Instructor tests you?

Activities (cont.)

79. Would you prefer to be tested in another way? What way?

80. What do you do to prepare for tests?

81. How do you go about taking a test?

82. How do you feel when a test is timed?

83. What are the main problems you have with tests?

Reading

84. Could you tell me what reading you do for this class?

85. Ratings

	How important is it to read each of these?					How often do you read it?			Comments
	①not)	2	③	4	⑤very)	Always	Sometimes	Never	
Text									
Handouts									
Board									

Activities (cont.)

Process Questions (Note: These questions concern a text. If other reading materials are identified as important, the questions could be applied to that material.)

86. Can you describe how you read the (text)?

87. When do you use your (text)? Why?

88. When you read, what parts do you read?

89. How do you decide what is important to read?

90. Do you sometimes re-read sections? Why?

91. Do you take notes on the (text)? Yes____ No____

92. Do you underline or mark the (text)? Yes____ No____

93. Do you do any reading outside of school? Yes____ No____

94. What do you read?
1.
2.
3.

95. How much time do you spend each day reading? Over 3 hrs.____ 3 hrs.____ 2 hrs.____ 1 hr.____ 30 minutes____ 15 minutes____

Activities (cont.)
WRITING

96. Could you tell me what writing you do for this course?

---

97. How important is it to:

A. In Class	How important is each of these?					How often do you do it?			Comments
	① (not)	2	③	4	⑤ (very)	Always	Sometimes	Never	
Take notes from the board									
from what IN says									
Writing exercises									
Quizzes									
Tests									

B. Out of class Writing

98. Do you do any writing outside of class? Yes____ No____

---

99. What do you write?
1.
2.
3.

---

100. How often do you write? Over 3 hrs.____ 3 hrs.____ 2 hrs.____ 1 hr.____ 30 min.____ 15 min.____

Activities (cont.)

101. When you do free writing, how do you choose a topic?

---

102. How do you get your writing to sound like you want it to?

---

103. How do you make sure the spelling, grammar & punctuation are correct?

Spelling:

Grammar:

Punctuation:

---

104. Do you always take notes the same way (leave spaces, underline, indenting)?

Leave spaces:

Underline:

Indent:

---

105. How do you decide what to take notes on?

---

106. How do you use the notes later?

---

107. Do you take notes in English or in another language?

English ______ Other language ____

Activities (cont.)
LISTENING

108. Is it important to listen carefully in class? Yes____ No____
When?

109. How important is it to:

	How important is each of these?					How often do you listen?			Comments
	①(not)	2	③	4	⑤very)	Always	Sometimes	Never	
Lectures									
IN directions									
IN suggestions									
Class discussions									
Class exercises or drills									

Process

110. How do you know what's important to listen to?

111. What do you do to help yourself pay attention & remember what you hear?

Activities (cont.)
SPEAKING

112. Is it important to speak in this class? Yes____ No____
When?

113. Ratings.

	How important is each of these?					How often do you speak?			Comments
	①(not)	2	③	4	⑤(very)	Always	Sometimes	Never	
In Class									
Is it important to ask questions?									
In what language?									
Is it important to answer questions?									
In what language?									
Is it important in whole class discussions?									
In what language?									
Is it important in small discussions?									
In what language?									
Out of Class									
Do you speak to other students outside of class?									
In what language?									
Do you speak to the IN outside of class?									
In what language?									
Is it important to read aloud in class drills?									

__Activities__ (cont.)

Process

---

114. How do you know when it's important to speak?

---

115. How do you decide what to say and in what language?

WATCHING

116. Is it important to what what goes on in class? Yes_____ No_____
When?

---

117. Ratings

	How important is each of these?					How often do you watch?			Comments
	①(not)	2	③	4	⑤(very)	Always	Sometimes	Never	
Instructor in demonstration									
Other Students									
Which ones?									
Students in group									
Other									

__Process__

118. How do you decide what's important to watch?

Activities (cont.)

119. What do you learn from watching that you don't learn otherwise?

MANIPULATIVE

120. Do you need to work with your hands in this class? Yes_____ No_____
What?

---

121. Ratings

How important is each of these?					How often do you do it?			Comment
①(not)	2	③	4	⑤(very)	Always	Sometimes	Never	

Process

122.

Activities (cont.)

SOCIOCULTURAL

123. How do you think people are supposed to act in this class?

124. Are there things people shouldn't do?

125. Are there rules about talking?

126. a. Moving around?

127. b. Attending regularly?

128. c. Coming in late?

129. d. Handing in assignments?

130. e. Answering the teacher's questions?

131. f. Speaking English?

132. g. Speaking Spanish?

133. h. Other

134. Why do you sit where you do?

Activities (cont.)

135. Where do you like to sit in a classroom? Where?
Why?

V. **Outcomes**

136. Are you ready to go on to other classes? Yes____ No_____

137. What classes do you want to take?

138. Which do you avoid?

139. Has the work you've done in this class been worthwhile?

140. What have you learned?

141. Did you learn what the IN planned for you to learn?

142. What grade do you expect from this class? A____ B____ C____ D____ F____ Z____ X____ Y____ W____

143. Would you recommend this class (program, block) to someone you know? Yes_____ No_____ Maybe______

144. What have you liked about the subject?

Dynamic Student Interviews*

The primary purpose of the dynamic interviews was to obtain in-depth emic information from students about their perspectives on literacy and on the operations which they engage in. Emic data were collected to address several broad questions:

> How do students label and describe various events that go on during a typical class? Are there some 'typical' events they can also label and describe? What are some out-of-class events that relate to the course? What purpose do they think each of the identified events serves?
>
> What does the student actually do during this event and why? This description must be quite detailed to be useful. It must describe specific behavior in context. In particular, we need to know what listening, speaking, reading, writing, watching, and manipulating the student does.
>
> How difficult does the student feel each event is for him/her? We already have etic data on difficulty from the task analysis. Here we want emic descriptions of level of difficulty. Also, why do students think an event is difficult or not difficult? What are sources of assistance for students when they experience difficulty in negotiating events? This information on sources of difficulty and sources of assistance will be useful in understanding what is meant by 'demands' and 'resources'.

Background

The structured interviews conducted in the spring 1980 yielded useful data pertaining to students' background characteristics, objectives, resources, activities, outcomes, and ideal situation. At the same time, a number of important questions went unanswered and our framework shifted to include an emphasis on events. Events were conceived of as units of ongoing activity that are recognizable as distinct by participants and researchers. For example, listening to a lecture constituted one variant of the event referred to as "lecture". With the elevation of the concept of event to a central place in our theorizing, it became exceedingly important to ascertain whether the students and the participant observers shared these experiences in their classroom environment. If they did, in fact, share these experiences, then the various events should be inbued with meaning for the participants and the researchers. In developing our interviewing technique, we were heavily influenced by Levinson's (1978) book. He described an interview process --biographical interviewing-- which was compatible with our goal of clarification of the class-related events and how they are enacted.

A dynamic interview has four inter-related, independent aspects: it is research motivated, clinically oriented, conversational in form, and dynamic in the relationship between interviewer and interviewee.

1. It is similar to a structured research interview in that specific topics have been selected to be analyzed by the interviewer.

2. It is clinically oriented because the interviewer attempts at all times to be sensitive to the ideas and feelings expressed by the interviewee.

3. Because the interview will cover topics of shared concern (e.g., the classroom), the interviewer is free to respond in terms of his/her own impressions to what the interviewee (student) says during the conversation. At times, therefore, the distinction between interviewer and student, subject and object, becomes purely opaque.

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* Developed by Nancy Siefer, Liz Warren and Elizabeth Fisk.

4. Finally, because the relationship between interviewer and student is dynamic, student responses will bring out sub-categories and discussion points. The student and interviewer will be joint, active participants in searching out meaningful categories and in generating hypotheses.

Sampling

The sampling frame for the dynamic interviews was based on the courses we were observing in the fall 1980. Students in the following occupational classes were interviewed: Nutrition, General Microbiology, Business Statistics and Office Machines. Concurrently, students in the following transfer classes were interviewed: Freshman English II, U.S. History, Principles of Economics, and Experimental Psychology.

Participant observers knew from the outset of the semester that the interview format would be different from the previous semester. They were aware of the premium placed on establishing rapport and trust for the dynamic interviews. In selecting students for interviews, the participant observers were guided by their 'friendly conversations', observations and the Student Demographics Questionnaire. The Student Demographics Questionnaire contained information pertaining to background variables and interest in being interviewed. Interestingly, some students indicating that they did not want to be interviewed on the Student Demographics Questionnaire administered early in the semester were willing to later in the semester. These 'reversals' point out the importance of establishing rapport before asking for an interview as well as asking individuals instead of groups.

The friendly conversations and observations enabled the participant observers to ascertain the insightfulness of the students with regard to labeling and describing various events that go on during a typical class.

Recruiting students for interviews was, for most participant observers, relatively easy. Participant observers completed from 4 to 11 interviews per class, yielding a total of 55 interviews for the eight classes. Each interview took approximately one hour to complete.

Demographic Characteristics of Students

The demographic characteristics of students who were interviewed are summarized in Table 16. Frequencies are given according to age, ethnicity and gender. Fifty-two percent of the students were enrolled in transfer classes while 48% were enrolled in occupational classes. Sixty-nine percent of the students were women and 91% were Anglos. The modal age category was 17-20 years old (45%). Eighteen and thirteen percent of the students were between the ages of 21-25 and 31-35, respectively. When students are cross-classified by age, ethnicity and gender, the modal student is an Anglo female between the ages of 17-20 years old (27%). The next two largest groups are Anglo males between 17-20 years of age (14%) and Anglo females between 31-35 years old (13%).

Table 16

Demographic Characteristics of Students Interviewed

Age	Anglo		Ethnicity Hispanic		Other	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
17-20	8	15	1	1	0	0
21-25	5	3	1	0	0	1
26-30	0	4	0	0	0	0
31-35	0	7	0	0	0	0
36-40	0	3	0	0	1	0
41-45	1	3	0	0	0	0
46+	0	1	0	0	0	0

Interviewers

The interviewers were seven Anglo graduate students. Two interviewers (one was observing in two classes) were enrolled in the Anthropology Department while the other five interviewers were enrolled in the Department of Higher and Adult Education. Two interviewers were male while the other five were female. Two interviewers were bilingual. Three of the interviewers had been in the field for all three waves of data collection. The other four interviewers joined the project prior to the third wave of data collection.

Procedures

The preliminary results of the spring 1980 structured interviews were considered along with the results from other data sources. In addition, the framework shifted with increased focus on the concept of events and how they were constituted (Mehan, 1978) and sequenced (Cooper, 1979). To obtain emic data on events from the students and to elicit the participant observer's perspective, "a process of social interaction" was engaged in during the dynamic interviews.

The conversational nature of dynamic interviews required questions at two levels and from two perspectives. At the first level, questions were asked to establish basic class events from the student's and the observer's perspectives. At the second level, questions were posed to obtain a thicker description of the events which have been identified. While level one questions are necessary and level two questions are contingent upon level one questions, the bulk of the questioning was at level two.

During training sessions, interviewers were explained the basic elements of, and our rationale for, conducting dynamic interviews. Then participant observers watched demonstrations of mock dynamic interviews. In the final phase of training, each interviewer practiced conducting dynamic interviews with other interviewers and friends. In this manner, participant observers became comfortable with, and knowledgeable about, what they were doing.

In dynamic interviewing, the interviewer did not rely on a script or even examples of questions so that s/he could be an active participant in a mutual dialogue instead of an interrogator. Thus, there was no interview schedule per se. Interviewers did utilize a monitoring sheet which enabled them to a) keep track of which topics had been discussed at levels one and two; b) observe nonverbal behavior; and c) make brief notes.

Almost all interviews occurred in a face-to-face meeting except in one transfer class where students departed from class extremely quickly. Thus, it was necessary to conduct a few phone interviews. Phone patches were used to record these interviews. The face-to-face interviews usually transpired in the LAC or the Memorial Union and were taped with a few exceptions. Students were aware that the interviews would be taped and permission was obtained prior to beginning the interview. All tapes were transcribed along with the notes jotted down by the interviewer.

It should be noted that in contrast to our structured interviews which were fairly standardized, the dynamic interviews were more individualized. Greater emphasis was placed on intrinsic validity relative to reliability (Guba, 1978).

Type of Interview Questions

As previously indicated, there was no interview schedule or list of questions to guide the dynamic interviews. However, interviewers had familiarized themselves with the kinds of questions they were to ask to elicit information about their knowledge as well as the participant's knowledge of events. Sample questions within each quadrant formed by examining whose knowledge was focused on (student vs. observer) and the level of question (identification vs. thick description) are presented in Table 17. To insure coverage of the topics, to observe nonverbal behavior and to provide a place for comments, monitoring sheets were employed. A copy of a monitoring sheet is appended.

Table 17

Sample Types of Questions for Dynamic Interview

	Level	
Focus	Identification	Thick Description
Student/ Interviewee	What usually happens in your class? What kinds of things happen in your class? What else happens? (after some events have been identified) Does anything unusual ever happen? You mentioned X; can you tell me more about that? Do you have to work outside class for this course?	What does the instructor do during this activity? What do you do while he's doing that? Why do you do that? What do you think he expects you to get from it? How long does he usually do that? How long do you usually do that? What's the advantage of doing that? What's the disadvantage of doing that? Is that hard for you? What makes it that way? Is that easy for you? What makes it that way? How do you handle this problem? Are there different kinds of X? Does X happen every class period?
Observer/ Interviewer	I've noticed that X happens. What do you think about that? I've heard some students mention X; does that happen very often? I've heard the instructor say we would be doing X; did you hear that?	It's hard for me to understand when X; is it for you? Why? I feel X; how does that affect you? I notice that the students fall asleep when X, ... People seem to take more notes when X; do you? I notice students get really nervous when X, what about you?

Monitoring Sheet

TOPIC	IDENTIFICATION	THICK DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS
Student Objectives and Expectations			
For All Events:			
reading			
writing			
listening			
speaking			
manipulating			
observing			
math			
In Class Events:			
lectures			
discussions			
question/answer			
notetaking			
demonstrations			
skill practice			
handouts			
reading aloud			
audio visuals			
Out of Class Events:			
written homework			
other homework			
reading text			
opinions-text			
handouts			
notetaking			
reading notes			
talking with IN			
talking with students			
talking with family/ friends			
talking with tutor			
projects			
papers			
daily schedule			
Instructor-Style:			
explanations			
rapport with students			
standards, feedback			
Class Rules, Norms			
Settings:			
physical setting			
rapport with other students			
seating pattern			
Other:			

Faculty Interviews*

The primary purpose of the faculty interviews was three-fold. Our first purpose was to generalize our findings from the instructional design interviews and faculty ethnography on objectives, activities, difficulty of task accomplishment, and the ideal teaching situation. Second, we conducted these interviews to compare instructor perceptions with student perceptions, as assessed by questionnaires. By having a subset of the faculty interviewed administer a parallel questionnaire in their classes, we were able to make direct comparisons between instructor and student perceptions. Third, we collected data to confirm findings on faculty perceptions of student services.

Background

The probes for the faculty interviews were derived from preliminary analyses of the faculty ethnography, instructional design interviews, dynamic interviews of students, and our emerging hypotheses. By using semi-structured interviews, instructors were free to comment in their own words but the interviewers were able to control the time spent on any one topic to insure coverage of all areas in a time-delimited situation. The decision was made to interview the instructors because they generally reacted favorably to talking about issues. In contrast, requests to fill out questionnaires or forms were viewed negatively. The interviewing technique also permitted the interviewers to follow up interesting and unclear responses.

Sampling

The sampling frame for the faculty interview study was based upon our concern with generalizing findings about instruction in the occupational and transfer areas. The unit of sampling was the course. Nondevelopmental courses offered during the day in the fall of 1980 were classified into one of five areas of study using the 1980 *Handbook for Academic Advisors*. A stratified random sample of 30 courses was then drawn. Courses were stratified according to area of study such that six courses were selected in each area.

Full-time instructors teaching sections of these courses were initially contacted by the Director of Research and Development. He was engaged to approach designated instructors because of his familiarity with the faculty and the ease with which he could contact them to schedule meeting times.[3]

Of the 30 faculty who were initially contacted, 27 agreed to participate (see Table 18). Eleven of the 29 faculty who eventually participated were females. Their mean institutional age was 11.79 (*SD*=3.80). All of the faculty were Anglos. Faculty teaching six liberal arts, six science and quantitative studies, six business, six humanities and five occupational courses were interviewed.

Faculty Interviewers

The interviewers were two doctoral students in the Department of Higher and Adult Education. Both had extensive experience with community colleges. One was working half-time at Oakwood in the Counseling Department. Her spouse was also employed at Oakwood as a full-time faculty member. One interviewer was an Anglo male while the other was an Anglo female.

The interviewers joined the project staff specifically to work on this study. The interviewers met with the other members of the instructional component *throughout* the fall semester. By doing this, they were able to understand the nature of our findings and hypotheses and in turn, to conduct the interviews guided by the perspective emerging within the instructional component.

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* Developed by Max Coffey and Paula King

Table 18
Courses that Faculty were Interviewed About[a]

		Area of Study[b]		
Liberal Arts	Science and Quantitative Studies	Occupational	Business	Humanities
Freshman English II	Intermediate Algebra	Intro. to Electronics[c]	Intro. to Business	Intro. to Philosophy I
Freshman English I	Introductory Algebra	Scientific Calculators	Principles of Econ.	Intro. to the Theatre
Intro. to Sociology	Healthful Living	Intro. to Animal Husbandry[c]	Accounting Principles II	Interpersonal Communication
Elements of Speech Communication	Biology Concepts[c]	Origin and Composition of Soil[c]	Business Machines[c]	Elementary French
U.S. History	General Chemistry[c]	Engine Overhaul and Reconditioning[c]	Typing for Individual Use[c]	Intro. to Literature
General Psychology	Environmental Geology[c]		Business Communication	Intro. to Logic

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[a] Two instructors in the occupational area (i.e. those teachers teaching Administration of Justice and Fabrication Techniques, as well as one instructor in the business area (the instructor for Data Processing) refused to be interviewed. We were able to find substitutes for one of the occupational courses and the business course, leaving only five courses in the occupational area of study. Specifically, Introduction to Electronics was substituted for Electronic Fabrication Techniques and Business Machines was used in lieu of Survey of Data Processing.

[b] Areas of study were derived from the college's 1980 Faculty Handbook for Academic Advisors. There is some overlap among the areas but this state of affairs reflects the complexity of the curriculum and interpreting documents associated with it.

[c] Courses with labs.

Procedures

An initial set of issues were developed based upon input from all members of the instructional component and a review of findings and hypotheses. Then, a set of questions was drafted by the interviewers and a participant observer who had been with the project since its inception. Four pilot interviews were conducted and the protocols analyzed. Based upon the results of the pilot study, the questions were revised and a checklist of topics to be covered was developed. The decision was made to have interviewers ask questions in the order they thought best and to paraphrase questions as necessary. By so doing, the interviewers were able to capitalize on statements made by faculty, that is, to probe for additional interpretation and clarification.

The interviews took place, for the most part, in the faculty members' offices. However, some were done in the cafeteria and lounge areas. At the outset of the interviews, faculty were asked if it was okay for the interviews to be taped. Most faculty agreed. For those who did not want to be audio-taped, the interviewers simply took notes. Notes were also taken when audio-taping occurred, as a mneumonic device for facilitating coding of the data. Interviewers used a checklist to insure that each of the major topics was covered. Since office hours were one hour in duration, the interviewers usually had to complete their interviews within that time interval. By glancing at the checklist, the interviewers could gauge their pacing and fill in the 'gaps'.

Interview Schedule

The questions for the semi-structured interview were divided into six sections related to a) diversity of students; b) objectives; c) activities; d) difficulty; e) ideal teaching situation; and f) student services. These questions are appended, along with the checklist used to keep track of topics covered.

Coding and Analysis

The audiotapes and fieldnotes were used to write up the interview protocols. The protocols were reviewed for accuracy and clarity. The interview protocols were then sorted according to topics indicated in the Interview Schedule. Open coding of the responses by topic followed with the aim of generating possible categories. A second reading was used to enumerate a list of categories and their attributes. Then tallies were made of responses by category and by attributes within categories. For example, the category 'instructor objectives' emerged and seven different attributes were noted. Each protocol was then inspected for data bearing on the category and the presence of each of the attributes. When a category was not mentioned at all, an explanation was sought. In most instances, the interviewer simply did not ask a question germane to the category. The number of times attributes were mentioned was tallied for the entire sample and separately by lab versus non-lab courses.

Faculty Course Objectives. As indicated in Table 19, faculty mentioned six different types of objectives. Information and/or skill acquisition was mentioned by all faculty except one. Over half the faculty also mentioned developing positive attitudes toward the subject. Only 14% of the faculty stated that gaining basic (e.g. reading) skills was a primary or secondary objective for their class.

FACULTY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE-FALL 1980

Diversity of students

1. Tell me about your students - what are they like? (Prompts: How are they different? Ethnic, educational, economic background, age, sex, literacy, good/bad.)
2. Describe your perception of rapport as it occurs between you and your students. (...between students.)
3. Do you relate more easily with one group or another?
4. Have you noticed any significant seating patterns in your class?

Objectives

1. What do you consider the most important objectives of your course?
2. Are there some secondary objectives you can describe?
3. What are the students' objectives for your course?
4. Are there any outcomes that you are aware of that do not relate to either your goals or student goals?

Activities

1. Please list, in order of use, the activities in your class (refer to the list) - describe these activities.
2. What criteria do you use in selecting your activities?
3. What do you actually do during each activity?
4. What do students actually do during each activity?
5. What out-of-class activities do you require for this course (refer to list). Describe these activities. (Prompt: How much out-of-class work do you expect? How much do you get?)
6. What do students have to be able to do in order to succeed in your class? (refer to list of activities)

Difficulty

1. Referring to the activities we have discussed, which are the most difficult for you as instructor to use?
2. In your perception, which activities are the most difficult for your students?

Ideal Teaching Situation

1. What strategies do you use to help students understand the activities? (Prompts: handouts, questions, demos)
2. What strategies and sources of assistance do students use when they experience difficulty? (study groups, moving seats, counseling)
3. Describe an ideal teaching situation. What would be different? What would be the same? What would you do?

STUDENT SERVICES

1. What Student Services are you aware of on this campus? We've been looking at the following (show list) services. Are you familiar with the functions of these services?

2. Do you ever refer students to any of the Student Services on campus?

3. If no, why not? (Skip to Question 8)

4. If yes, to which services? How often? (estimate number per semester)

5. How do you decide when and where to refer students? (i.e. based on student request for information or instructor's perception of the students' needs?)

6. Do students get the assistance they need from these services? Do they tell you this? Do the Student Services staff? If not, how do you know? (any examples?)

7. Are there services where you do not refer students? Which ones? Why? (i.e. not needed by the students I see or don't think service will be effective or don't believe campus should provide such service.)

8. What are your perceptions of the overall effectiveness of Student Services on this campus? (as a group) Are there ways in which you feel Student Services could be improved? Are there any services that you feel are particularly good? Why?

Checklist for Faculty Interviews: Fall 1980

Diversity:

- demographics
- rapport
- seating patterns

Objectives:

- instructor objectives
- student objectives
- unanticipated outcomes

Activities - in class:

- lectures
- discussions
- question/answer
- demonstrations
- skill practice
- reading aloud
- audio visuals
- use of handouts

Activities - out of class:

- written homework
- reading text
- other readings
- handouts
- reading notes
- talking with instructor
- talking with students
- talking with family/friends
- working with tutor
- projects
- papers

Basic skills:

- reading
- writing
- listening
- speaking
- manipulating
- observing
- math

Ideal Teaching Situation:

- instructor strategies
- student strategies
- ideal class

Student Services:

- services used
- referral decision
- effectiveness of services

Table 19

Primary and Secondary Faculty Objectives (n=29)[1]

Type of Objective	Type of Course					
	Lab		Non-Lab		Row	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
I and/or SA[2]	9	100	19	95	28	96
DPA[3]	5	55	11	55	16	55
DSC[4]	3	33	3	15	6	21
GTS[5]	4	44	4	20	8	28
ESI[6]	1	11	0	0	1	3
GBS[7]	0	0	7	35	7	24

1 = Some instructors mentioned more than one objective.
2 = Information and/or skill acquisition.
3 = Develop positive attitude toward the subject.
4 = Develop self-confidence.
5 = Gain general thinking (or problem-solving) skills.
6 = Enjoy social interaction with people.
7 = Gain basic skills.

ENDNOTES

3. Faculty are extremely difficult to contact by telephone.

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Faculty Ethnography*

A study of the faculty was proposed during the first year of the project and was designed to provide broadbased contextual data on the faculty. This study was designed and executed during tne spring semester of 1980 by the ethnographic coordinator. There were several purposes to this study including an overall description of the faculty, of the demands placed upon them, of their attitude toward the institution, of the role it should play in literacy development and their perceptions of the changes and adaptations they had made to a changing student population. Another major purpose of the design was to provide a data base adequate enough to suggest future directions and areas of study in the design of a quantitative questionnaire which was to be developed and executed by the administrative research component in the fall semester of 1980.

Research Questions for the Faculty Study

The ethnographic portion of the faculty study was organized around a series of research questions derived from an intensive group process in the instructional component of the study, during the fall of 1979. Emerging hypotheses, areas where we needed more data, and questions had been identified by members of the research team and participant observers in October of 1979. In an all-day workshop, the questions were refined and reduced to an essential set for each component for answering those research questions. Questions dealing with faculty were selected from the overall list of the instructional component and a subset of these questions were the focus for the faculty ethnography. Questions were organized into the overall framework that had been developed by the project, as a whole, in the fall of 1979. Our framework called for a focus on: Objectives, Resources (of), Activities, Demands (Actual and Perceived) and Outcomes.

Since time was extremely limited for completion of the faculty study, the research questions were grouped under each category in the framework, along with the kind of data needed to answer the question and the methodology to be employed in collecting the data. The principal methods employed were participant observation, interviewing and document analysis. In many areas, questions were also asked of concern to the administrative component and, thus, coordination with the administrative component was also built into the overall design of the study. The initial set of research questions for the faculty ethnography are listed below.

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* Developed by Betsy Brandt.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS - INSTRUCTION - FACULTY STUDY

These questions are abstracted from the overall research questions for instruction. They represent those that I feel can be answered from data derived from the faculty study. Under each question I have identified the kind of data and the methodology or mode of analysis.

OBJECTIVES:

1. What are the instructional goals of the institution?

This question has both an implicit and an explicit dimension as do many of the others. The explicit dimension will be measured by an examination of college documents including statements of college priorities; district documents (JCEP Priorities, etc.) and interviews or interview data from the President, Dean of Instruction, Dean of Admission, and Dean of Continuing Education. Data derived from the Administrative Component will also be needed.

The implicit dimension will be measured by:

a) Examination of program requirements--Documents in the Advisor Handbook in Project office.
b) Examination of selected course goals--Denton study
c) Measuring the number of sections (day and night) in rank order for programs
d) Examination of Headcount and FTSE data for programs and courses
e) Number of residential faculty hires by year and department since 1965
f) Ranking of top departments by residential faculty size
g) Number of part-time hires by year, department and program
h) Number of residential faculty teaching in continuing education by instructional area
i) Allocation of JCEP and other funds by amount, year, project, program, and source of initiation (District and Administrative data base)
j) Amount of released time allocated to faculty by program, purpose, source, and reason
k) Analysis of campus and district budget (Administration ?)

2. What are the curriculum goals for specific Developmental, Occupational, and Transfer courses?

Measured by:

a) Consideration of college documents - e.g. original proposal for Developmental Block, grant proposals
b) Triangulation process - participant observation, materials analysis, instructional design interviews
c) Program statements and requirements drawn from data complied through faculty interviews and by the Advisement and Registration Committee and catalog material; also participant observation and interviewing by Denton

3. How often do faculty have to get involved to help students negotiate the processes practiced during late registration?

4. What are the institutional and faculty expectations for faculty to participant in non-classroom activities?

Measured by:

a) Statement of official/college/district policy--esp. days of accountability and compensation for activities
b) Mapping of membership of faculty and overlapping membership on college and district committees, commissions and groups
c) Compilation of interview data on expectations and motivators for such service
d) Counts of faculty engaged in non-classroom activity by activity--e.g. 70 faculty served as advisors in registration for spring 1980

RESOURCES (OF):

1. What are the resources provided to the instructional component?

The consideration of the sources of data under question 1 (e-k) provide most of the answers to this question as well as examination of data from the Administrative component. In addition, it requires:

a) Mapping of existing space allocation by department, program
b) Examination of new allocations and proposed space and equipment allocations
c) Staff allocation by number and program, perhaps date of hire

ACTIVITIES:

1. What are the specific curricula for the various programs within the Transfer, Occupational, and Developmental areas?

Measured by:

a) Existing data from the curricula dection of the Advisor Handbook

2. Who designed the specific curricula?

a) Ask department chairs and identify committees or individuals responsible
b) Identify agencies/associations responsible for certification requirements
c) Examine perceived role of university, district and state requirements for the transferability or comparability through documents and interviews with key individuals in each area.

3. To what extent do faculty adapt or attempt to change curriculum requirements?

a) Examine the role and work of: 1) college curriculum committee; 2) District course bank; 3) Advisement and Registration committee; 4) Instructional councils; 5) District Curriculum Committee

4. How are instructional materials selected?

a) Determine from departments (top 10) who selects materials and why? How much selection is due to perceived pressure from ASU or other groups?

5. How are evaluation measures designed and implemented?

a) Determine if there is district/college administrative pressure to evaluate particular programs or curricula in certain ways through documents and interviews

6. What is the instructor's attitude toward his/her position as a community college instructor?

7. Toward administration?

a) Identify key faculty leaders; through interviews determine attitudes, perceptions and estimate of number holding those views
b) Interviews with key opinion leaders
c) Number of members of faculty organizations or committees representing a particular view
d) Identification of those faculty who "side with" the campus administration or seek administrative assignments
e) Identification of those faculty who have received rewards from Administration or District (released time, funds, recognition, awards)
f) Number of faculty who participate in District or multi-campus activities from OCC
g) Sample of selected faculty who have other outside sources of income

8. What non-classroom activities do faculty participate in and for what reasons?

These questions are redundant given data collected under Resources.

DEMANDS (ACTUAL AND PERCEIVED):

1. What types of demands do various curricula place on faculty and how do they differ among programs?

Only selected portions of this question can be answered.

a) Identify faculty who are "burnouts" or potential ones; administer the Maslach Burnout Inventory; through interview and cross-tabbing of committee and instructional load, determine the demands on their time
b) Use T.A. and P.O. to identify demands on faculty teaching in courses and programs which we are observing
c) Compare all data on faculty in observed courses across the board to get an estimate of time demands and instructional method demands
d) Analysis of released time data and continuing ed load for residential faculty

OUTCOMES:

1.

a) The college has exact data on retention by instructor, but this is a very sensitive issue and one which only the team can decide.
b) Faculty in observed courses collect varying amounts of data on students. Determine how much, of what sort, and the method of use of this data from T.A. and P.O., and interviewing

This document should be considered in conjunction with the outline of the Faculty study prepared for our January meeting.

Not all tasks outlined in the preceding design were completed for a variety of reasons. Initially, we intended a standardized interview schedule to be administered to all department chairs. This schedule was to focus on the following 18 topics:

1. their responsibilities,
2. determinants of instructional offerings,
3. interaction with other campus units,
4. interactions with off-campus institutions,
5. how textbook selection is accomplished,
6. coordination of course offerings within and across units,
7. perceived needs of departments,
8. perceived problems of department,
9. characterizations of faculty in department,
10. history of programs and curricula,
11. process of head selection and length of term; term left,
12. staffing needs,
13. perceived sense of department morale and rationale for it,
14. perceived changes in college,
15. perceived changes in student body,
16. role of the college and the type of student(s) it should serve,
17. role of college policy,
18. role of district policy.

This interview schedule was dropped from the faculty study for three reasons. One, the administrative component had previously conducted interviews with many department heads in the spring and fall of 1979, which provided data on at least some of these concerns. Thus, some of these data were already available for analysis. Second, the limited time frame meant that a decision to interview department chairs would make it virtually impossible to also interview faculty on other topics of interest. Third, a decision was made in most cases, not to interview faculty in whose classes we were currently observing so as not to add to their already heavy time commitment to the project. In addition, the instructional design interviews contained questions relating to faculty perceptions of classroom demands, of changing adaptations and of the overall design of their classes. Thus, it was felt that we would get sufficient information through the instructional design interviews. Ultimately, this proved not to be the case, however. The individual conducting the instructional design interviews did not record this data. Since time was at a premium in the study, a decision was made to choose faculty for interviews who were in official leadership positions; those who were opinion leaders, both positive and negative; those who chaired faculty committees; and thus, very senior and very junior faculty, in order to gain a time perspective and some sense of the history of the institution.

Plans were also initially made to interview part-time, adjunct faculty. However, this proved to be virtually impossible as it was extremely difficult to contact these faculty who taught only at night and had no regular offices. It was also extremely difficult to contact regular residential faculty. Faculty were scattered over a very large campus in a variety of buildings. In most instances, faculty did not have phones in their office and a phone was maintained only in the department office, which in most cases, is not manned. In addition, there is only one line going into the campus as a whole and calls needed to be transferred to individual department offices. The main number, as one might expect, was constantly busy. The use of phone calls to set up faculty appointments was often a very lengthy process. Although faculty were required to keep a certain number of office hours each week, the majority of faculty were not present during their office hours except for the developmental faculty. This meant that considerable amounts of time were spent in scheduling appointments for interviews with faculty. An average of three visits to the campus were required before the average faculty member could be contacted and scheduled for an interview. The researcher visited campus two times per week for interviews spending an average of six hours per visit. The average interview which was open-ended, took approximately one hour. Forty faculty members out of a total of 182 full-time faculty were interviewed. Faculty selected for interviews came from a total of 16 of 25 total departments or divisions within the college. The following divisions or departments were represented in the sample:

Art	Library
Automotive	Math
Business	Philosophy
Chemistry	Physical Education
Data Processing	Psychology
Electronics	Reading
English	Social Sciences
Foreign Languages	Speech
	Speech & Theatre

Some key faculty targets for interviews were never successfully contacted. Only one faculty member initially refused an interview, but did consent after repeated visits. Some faculty made appointments but were unavailable at appointment time. Only two faculty members allowed their interviews to be taped. In both of these cases, the interview was completely transcribed. Most faculty did, however, permit the interviewer to take notes during the course of the interview. Whenever possible, significant quotes were recorded verbatim in her notes. If the interview was quite lengthy, then an interview report was dictated. Otherwise, cards were made on relevant data directly from handwritten notes. The cards were then cross-indexed by topic.

Since faculty were targeted for interviews primarily on the basis of their political role or their role in faculty committees and organizations, interviews differed widely from faculty member to faculty member. Some faculty members were interviewed more than once, if their data were essential to understanding a particular process or a committee. For example, the chairman of the Faculty Assembly was interviewed more than once. The following questions did remain relatively constant across interviews:

1. What are the institutional and faculty expectations for faculty to participate in non-classroom activities?
2. What kinds of resources are provided to you in carrying out your role within the institution? This question held for both committee chairs and classroom teachers.
3. What do you see as the goals of the institution?
4. Have those goals changed over time?
5. How are instructional materials selected and who selects them?
6. What is your attitude toward your position as a community college instructor?
7. What is your attitude toward administration at the campus level and the district level?
8. What campus activities do you participate in?
9. What changes have you observed, if any, in students?
10. When did you start noticing those changes?
11. What do you see as the rewards of your position?
12. Do you think the conflict within the district has affected your performance as an instructor?
13. Could you identify any faculty members who have significant writing demands in their courses?
14. Have you changed your instructional style? If so, why?

15. Do you know of any faculty members who might be considered "burn-out" cases?

16. Is there anything that I haven't covered in this interview that you think it would be important for me to know?

Initial interviews with faculty members were devoted to uncovering both the explicit and implicit structuring of campus faculty and their organizations and their relationship to the district. Several faculty members developed into key informants and significant amounts of time were spent with them both on and off campus in informal situations such as lunch. In other cases, key informants would call the researcher with news of happenings of interest and would also provide the researcher with copies of memos, worksheets and other relevant documents.

Several administrators were also interviewed. These included the dean of instruction, the dean of students, the associate dean for registration, and campus institutional studies director. Several faculty members were also in quasi-administrative positions and these included the chairperson of the advisement and registration committee, two evening deans, director of continuing education, the chairman of the basic studies or developmental studies committee, and the president of the Faculty Association, as well as the directors of the basic studies block and the intensive ESL block. Four of these individuals also developed into key informants and were instrumental in providing copies of documents, programs, grant proposals, diplomatic statements, and most importantly, access to district and campus level computer print-outs for analysis by the investigator. Several of these individuals also had good access to district offices and were often able to provide district-level documents and analyses. Several of these individuals were also seen in more informal settings such as luncheons in the faculty dining room and luncheons off-campus.

Whenever possible, participant observation was conducted in a variety of settings throughout campus. These included observing faculty and listening to them in the faculty dining room whenever possible, attendance at committee meetings were permitted by the committee chairs, attendance at Faculty Senate meetings also with permission of the Faculty Senate president, and, of course, the actual work at registration and advisement.

Faculty networks were charted through observation of faculty, both in formal and informal settings and by examination of office assignments.

Document Analysis

Document analysis was used for the following purposes:

1. to determine historical trends and concerns,
2. to monitor ongoing concerns and uncover topics for interviews,
3. to record official statements of policy,
4. to provide quantitative and qualitative data for analysis.

For the faculty, three sets of documents were particularly useful. The first consisted of the minutes of the Faculty Senate which were distributed to all faculty via faculty mailboxes. One full year of Senate minutes were read and relevant material copied from the minutes and placed on note cards for analysis. The second set of documents that proved to be valuable were faculty bulletins distributed through the faculty mailboxes. One full year of these documents were also analyzed. Often faculty bulletins contained announcements of campus events and reports of minor policy changes from campus units. The third set of relevant documents were those issued by the central district office. These are first of all, "Wednesdays", a summary given to faculty of the district Governing Board meeting minutes. Two, "Fridays", a short folder of news of general interest included with faculty paychecks. Three, a job opportunities folder listing job openings, qualifications and salaries. A file of "Wednesdays" was kept and the other two documents were examined sporadically. The weekly campus newspaper was also collected and a clipping file was maintained on any topics relating to faculty or administration. Copies of official policy statements and governing rules and regulations were also collected. For example, copies of the residential faculty handbook, a handbook for crafts faculty, the district budget and a district fact book that contains statistical abstracts of data by campus and the campus faculty handbook were obtained. The faculty library also provided a valuable and unobtrusive source of faculty documents, as many reports and memos were filed in there for use by the faculty. Faculty and administrators often shared district memos, campus memos, campus-originated and district-originated reports on proposals or grants, and in some cases, program evaluations. In many cases, the researcher was not permitted to copy these documents but was permitted to read the documents and to make notes on them. In some cases, the document could be obtained from a source other than the faculty member who had originally brought it to the researcher's attention. The administrative component had placed an intern in the district Chancellor's office. Many documents that were relevant to the faculty study and to the connection with administration, were available from this source.

At the start of the project, a procedure had been worked out through the centralized computer services of the district, to provide to the research project certain computer print-outs. While this was a very valuable service, the priority for the project was rather low and, thus, often meant a very lengthy time for accessing college or district data. The use of key informants with access to computer print-outs in the main administration of the campus, provided a much more speedy way of accessing needed information. These documents were used in four ways. One was as a source of actual data often quantitative that was not obtainable in any other fashion. For example, payroll records were used to determine the number of faculty with regular teaching certificates versus the number with provisional certification. The same payroll was also used to determine the number of visiting staff and the number of full-time faculty teaching an overload in the night division. Visiting staff were paid at a different rate if they had served a given number of years in the district. Thus, it was possible to use these payroll print-outs to calculate the number of years that visiting staff had been employed on the campus, an example of an unobtrusive measure. In the same way, faculty hiring dates were used to get the number of yearr served by faculty. In some cases, the district or the campus had already provided analytical categories that could be utilized by the project. In other cases, it was necessary to wade through lengthy print-outs in order to pull out information needed by the project.

A second way in which documents were utilized was to generate topics for research and for the interviewing. A third use of documents was as an essential element in the triangulation process. Thus, for example, college and district policy statements were often used to represent district's view on an issue. These were then presented to faculty and used to get their perspectives on the same issue. Another way in which documents were used was in cooperation with the administrative intern in the Chancellor's office. The given document or a given policy statement might be followed through its flow from the district down to the campus level and through individual faculty members of committees. An analysis was made of their impact at each level. Thus, a variety of perspectives could be gained on the same issue or event. Some of the documents were used to construct charts or tables which were included in the final report on the faculty ethnography. Other more lengthy documents or print-outs were saved for further analysis which was felt to be too lengthy and time consuming in the initial faculty study. For example, the campus and district budgets were given to the administrative component for more detailed analysis.

Unobtrusive Measures

Some unobtrusive measures have been described in the preceding section and a great many more were possible, using computer print-out data from the campus or district level. One interesting measure of high status faculty who had administrative favor, was possession of a phone.

Only those faculty holding either quasi-administrative status or who had extreme administrative favor had phones in their offices. When this fact became known, the campus president's secretary was asked to provide a faculty list with phones. This list was then verified by observation to identify all high status faculty and then to investigate the reasons for that status.

Another unobtrusive measure was the location of faculty offices. This campus had a number of buildings dispersed on a rather large site. Most department's faculty were located within the same building. Faculty who were not grouped with other members of their department often had quasi-administrative status and were in disfavor with their departments. Thus, their offices were often in other buildings located quite far from their department. Mapping of these locations also provided valuable information.

Data Analysis

The initial task in the faculty ethnography was to identify key opinion leaders among the faculty and those who held both appointed and elected positions. Data collected using all methodologies were utilized in this task. Cards were made for each key individual and data were entered from interviews, from observation, and from administrative documents on each individual's card. Data were also analyzed by committee or by position, where appropriate. Thus, all data, for example, pertaining to the professional standards committee would be entered on its card with exact references as to the full source of the data. Key reports were not dictated but were placed directly on cards for both individuals and topics, as they emerged and were coded. These were cross-indexed to one another and as the work proceeded, codings were revised. Each document that was not either a published document, such as the faculty handbook or a computer print-out, was indexed by its type, date collected, and title and purpose. A data card was also made for each key committee or campus organization, along with a list of each of it's members and any information that was relevant about it's function or it's membership. Data from interview summaries or from fieldnotes were referenced on appropriate cards. A notebook was kept which recorded developing categories for coding and developing hypotheses which were added to, or modified, as the study progressed.

The overall research questions, which had provided the initial direction for the study, were checked off or modified as more data came in. This initial outline of research questions and the framework it embodied as Objectives, Demands, etc. was used as the final framework for a summary report that integrated both the quantitative and qualitative data of the faculty study. The majority of questions on the initial outline were answered, though there were a few that went unanswered for a variety of reasons. For example, we considered identification of faculty who were burn-outs or potential burn-outs and had intended to administer a Burn-out Inventory. It was decided, however, to postpone the administration of the inventory until the fall when we wanted to consider making it part of the quantitative study. However, by the end of this semester, the question of burn-out no longer seemed as relevant as it had at the beginning of the study. In another case, for example, we had intended to do an analysis of released time but we were unable to obtain the data.

We wished to identify those faculty who had outside sources of income. While a number of faculty were identified who had outside sources of income, it proved almost impossible and not worth the time involved to identify all faculty who had outside sources of income as this data was very sensitive. All sources of data were integrated in the writing of the final summary report on the faculty ethnography. In conjunction with data from the administrative component, a quantitative study on faculty was carried out in the fall of 1980.

Questionnaires*

Within the ethnographic framework of the present study, two questionnaires were developed for the third wave of data collection (Fall, 1980). The deployment of questionnaires was consistent with our desire to extend the generalizability of our findings within the setting and to test hypotheses using multiple methods. In both instances, questionnaires were constructed based on the interpretation of data previously collected. Thus, topics covered on the questionnaires were grounded in observational and interview data. And, specific items were constructed based upon the findings which had been amassed. From our perspective, the use of questionnaires yielding 'quantitative' data was not inconsistent with the 'qualitative' data we had collected. The ethnographic method allows for a mix of 'qualitative' and 'quantitative' data with quantification coming more to the fore in the latter stages of inquiry.

Student Characteristics Questionnaire

The primary purpose of the Student Characteristics Questionnaire (SCQ) was to determine the demographic characteristics of students enrolled in classes we were observing in. In addition, students were asked if they would be willing to be interviewed about their experience in the class and the college in general. By knowing the demographic characteristics of students before selecting potential interviewees, it was possible to use the data to attempt to procure a heterogeneous sample. The SCQ was also employed to test hypotheses about the reasons why students enrolled in specific courses and their goals for being in college and to confirm findings concerning utilization of, and satisfaction with, selected student services. The latter two uses of the questionnaire were in keeping with the project's emphasis on convergent validation of findings via multiple methods.

Background

The SCQ was modelled, in part, after the Student Data Form included by the college as part of its Application Form for Admission. By using identical items on the "goals" section and similar items on the "demographics" section, we had the capability of comparing the data from individual classes (or groups of classes) with college and district-wide data bases. By using the same format on the student services section, we had the capability of replicating some findings obtained from the Life Events Survey (see Methodological Appendix of Student Services).

Sampling

The unit of analysis was the class. Thus, the population for this survey consisted of students enrolled in the eight classes we observed in the fall 1980 (see discussion of Sampling in the prior section on Instructional Design Interviews). Useable responses for items ranged from 224 to 258. Based upon estimates by participant observers of the number of students enrolled in the classes at the time the SCQ was administered, the response rate for the item with the greatest number of responses was 87%.

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Of the students surveyed, 65% were females and 35% were males. In terms of ethnicity, 86% were Anglos, 6% were Hispanics (n=13), and 7% were other. The initial language of 92% of the sample was English with 5% of the students reporting Spanish or Spanish/English as their native language. The distribution of scores on number of hours working was bi-modal. Thirty-six percent of the sample was not working while another 48% were working at least 20 hours. Thirty-eight percent of the sample had attended the community college one year or less while the remainder of the sample had attended the community college for more than one year (although not necessarily consecutively). Finally, with respect to chronological age, 47% of the sample was less than 20 years old. The remaining 52% were equally divided between students 20-23 years old and students 24 years of age or older. These data are summarized in Table 20.

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* Developed by the instructional component as a group.

Table 20

Demographic Data from Student Characteristics Questionnaire

Variable	F	%
Gender		
Male	78	35
Female	146	65
Ethnicity		
Black	4	2
Hispanic	13	6
Mideastern	3	1
Oriental	6	1
White	183	86
Other	3	1
Initial Language		
English	206	92
Spanish	10	4
English & Spanish	2	1
Other	5	2
Work Hours		
Zero	80	36
1-10	10	5
11-15	12	6
16-19	10	5
20	35	16
21-24	16	7
25	18	8
26-30	14	6
31-35	7	3
36-40	14	6
40+	4	2
Years at Oakwood		
1 year or less	86	38
1+	138	61
Age		
17-18	43	21
19	54	26
20	25	12
21-23	29	14
24-28	19	9
29-33	18	9
34-40	8	4
41-48	8	4

Student Characteristics Questionnaire Administrators

The questionnaires were distributed by the participant observers, usually toward the end of a class session. They explained why the questionnaires were being administered and were available to answer any questions.

Procedures

A participant observer who had been with the project since its inception designed the questionnaire drawing upon the student data form used by the College and the Life Events Survey instrument. Since both of these instruments had been previously pilot tested, no piloting was done with the SCQ. It was reviewed by all members of the instructional component vis-a-vis content, wording, and format.

Participant observers asked instructors for permission to administer the SCQ during class sessions. In all eight instances, the instructors gave their approval. All questionnaires were then administered and collected in a single session. The typical amount of time students needed to complete the SCQ was about 15 minutes. Students remained anonymous unless they agreed to be contacted about being interviewed.

Instrument

The SCQ consisted of three sections. Following an initial statement of its purpose, students completed the first part on demographic characteristics. In the second section students were asked about their goals and reasons for taking this particular course. In the last section, students indicated which of several student services they had used and the extent to which they had found those services to be helpful. Finally, students were asked to indicate their willingness to talk about their college experience. Those interested were requested to write in their phone numbers and day of week, time of day and location preferences for an interview. A copy of the SCQ is appended.

Student Classroom Activities Questionnaire

The primary purpose of the Student Classroom Activities Questionnaire (SCAQ) was two-fold. Our first purpose was to test hypotheses about objectives, class activities, student activities in and out of class and basic skills and to obtain data on student perceptions of instructor's style and aspects of the ideal class. Second, we employed this questionnaire to compare student perceptions of objectives, activities and basic skills with instructor perceptions as assessed by interviews. Using the questionnaire for these purposes was consistent with our methodological framework inasmuch as it permitted us to test hypotheses using multiple techniques and to examine differences and similarities in the perceptions of the principal actors in the classroom scene.

Background

The SCAQ was derived from student responses to the interviews conducted in spring, 1980 and our emerging framework and hypotheses. By generating topics from our theoretical perspective and by constructing individual items based upon protocols of previous interviews, we were able to collect data directly related to important issues in the instructional component. In addition, by using closed-ended responses, we were able to establish frequency counts indicating the modal student response as well as the range of responses.

Sampling

The sampling frame for this study was complicated by the goal of obtaining comparable data from students and faculty. Obviously, to gain access to students in classes, we needed to have the cooperation of the instructor both with regard to being interviewed and using class time to have students complete the SCAQ. A description of the procedure used to draw the sample for the faculty classroom activities interviews was provided in the Interview section of this chapter (see Faculty Interviews - 1980). Essentially, at the end of each interview, the faculty member was asked about the possibility of having students in the class complete a questionnaire with parallel items.

The sampling frame for the selection of faculty was based on courses being taught during the fall 1980. To address our concern about generalizability within the setting, we stratified courses according to five areas of study indicated in the 1980 Handbook for Academic Advisors (see Table 21). Nineteen of the twenty-nine faculty agreed to ask students to complete the questionnaire. Data on the gender and institutional age of faculty agreeing and not agreeing to participate in the SCAQ study are presented in Table 22. There it can be seen that, overall, the mean institutional age of the faculty was 11.79. Faculty agreeing to participate had been associated with Oakwood ($\underline{m}$=12.42) slightly longer than those who declined to participate ($\underline{m}$=10.60) in the SCAQ study. With regard to gender, 11 women and 18 men were asked to participate. Sixty-seven percent of the men and 64% of the women agreed to participate in the SCAQ study. Faculty were asked to administer the questionnaire to students in the class they were interviewed about. The courses in which the SCAQ was administered are listed in Table 21. Thus, students enrolled in three liberal arts, five scientific and qualitative, two occupational, four business and six humanities courses completed questionnaires. For individual items, the number of useable responses ranged from 363 to 414. No attempt was made to assess the response rate.

Student Classroom Activities Questionnaire Administrators

Originally, the SCAQ was to be administered by the two individuals who interviewed the faculty. However, scheduling conflicts and the need to get transcriptions of the faculty interviews forced us to scrap this idea. Instead, based upon practical considerations, we decided to have the faculty administer the questionnaires in their own classes. We realized that by having them administer the SCAQs, we increased the probability of students giving socially desirable responses. To offset this threat to the internal validity of the findings, we decided not only to have respondents remain anonymous but also to refrain from asking any questions about their background characteristics. Thus, it should have been apparent to students, given the lack of personal information and the nature of the responses they were making (numerical ratings and checks), that it would be impossible for their teacher to identify them.

Procedures

A participant observer who had been with the project since its inception constructed the questionnaire based upon the conceptual framework, hypotheses and findings of the instructional component. The items were designed, where appropriate, to parallel the topics covered in the faculty interviews. This questionnaire was evaluated by all members of the instructional component with regard to content, wording, and format.

Interested instructors were given copies of the questionnaire at the end of their interview. They were also provided with a labelled envelope for returning the completed questionnaires to the Office of Research and Development. The labels indicated the name of the instructor, the name of the class, and the section number. All questionnaires were administered and collected in a single session. Faculty indicated that students typically took about 15 minutes to complete the SCAQ.

Instrument

The SCAQ consisted of six sections. Following an initial statement of its purpose and a guarantee of anonymity, students completed the first part on instructor rapport. Subsequent sections of the questionnaire covered a) student objectives; b) class and student activities in and out of the classroom; c) importance and difficulty of basic skills; d) instructor style; and e) aspects of the ideal class. A copy of the SCAQ is appended.

Table 21

Courses in which the SCAQ was administered

Area of Study				
Liberal Arts	Science and Quantitative Studies	Occupational	Business	Humanities
Freshman English II U.S. History	Intermediate Algebra Introductory Algebra Healthful Living General Chemistry Environmental Geology	Introduction to Electronics Scientific Calculators	Accounting Principles II Business Machines Business Communication Principles of Economics	Introduction to Philosophy I Introduction to The Theatre Interpersonal Communication Elementary French Introduction to Literature Introduction to Logic

Table 22

Gender and Institutional Age of Faculty Agreeing and Not Agreeing to Administer SCAQ (n=29)

Variable	Faculty Disagreeing (n=10)		Faculty Agreeing (n=19)		Row (n=29)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Gender[a]	.40	.52	.37	.50	.38	.49
Institutional Age	10.60	4.77	12.42	3.15	11.79	3.80

[a] Males and females were assigned numerical values of zero and one, respectively.

STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS QUESTIONNAIRE

Arizona State University is conducting a study, looking at what it is like to be a student in a community college. We are interested in learning about your perceptions of the community college, your reasons for coming here, the problems you encounter, and the strategies you use to cope with the demands of being a student. We would like to know how you feel about your courses and about the services the college provides for you.

The information on this questionnaire will give us an overall idea of the characteristics of students in this course. We will also use this information to choose some students to talk to about their views of the course and the college. The information on this questionnaire is confidential but the overall results of our study will be shared with any of you who are interested.

1. Class ____________________ 2. Date ____________________

3. Age __________ 4. Sex ______ 5. Ethnic Background ______

6. What language was spoken in your house as a child? ______________

7. What types of jobs have you had in the past? (Check as many as apply)

____ Restaurant
____ Clerical
____ Sales
____ Factory
____ Mechanic
____ Field/Ranch Work
____ Construction
____ Child Care
____ Nurse Aide
____ Domestic
____ Teacher Aide
____ Other

8. Are you working now? ________

9. If you are working, what is your job? ____________________

10. If you are working, how many hours a week do you work? ____

11. In which of these fields would you like to work in the future?

____ Health related (nursing, premed)
____ Arts (including also music, theatre)
____ Communication (including journalism, languages, media)
____ Social Sciences (history, anthropology, sociology, economics)
____ Psychology (include also social work, counseling)
____ Sciences (biology, chemistry, geology, math)
____ Engineering (include also drafting, architecture)
____ Other (specify) ________________
____ Business
____ Education
____ Electronics Technology
____ Home Ec.
____ Law/Government
____ Agriculture
____ Automotive Technology

12. What is your primary goal in attending this college?

____ Improvement of existing job skills.
____ Preparation for job to be obtained.
____ University transfer credit.
____ Personal Interest
____ Other

13. How do you expect to accomplish this goal?

____ Selected course(s)
____ Certificate Program
____ AA Degree Program
____ Other

14. How definite is this goal?

___ Definite ___ Fairly definite ___ Not definite

15. Why are you taking this course?

___ Required for my major ___ Required for a degree
___ Recommended to me ___ Just like the subject
___ Other reason - Specify ______________________________

16. Circle the years you have attended Oakwood Community College.

1970 1971 1972 1973 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978 1979 1980

17. How many years of education have you and your parents had?

	(A) 1-6 yrs.	(B) 6-8 yrs.	(C) Some high school	(D) High school grad.	(E) Some college or univ.	(F) College or university graduate
You						
Mother						
Father						

18. In what range does your GPA fall?

___ Below 2.0 ___ 2.0 to 3.0 ___ Above 3.0 ___ Don't know

19. How are you being supported while attending college?

___ Self-supporting ___ Family support
___ Grants or loans ___ Other

20. Do you live alone? __________
If no, who are the other members of your household?

___ Parents ___ Siblings ___ Spouse
___ Children ___ Other Relative ___ Friend(s)
___ Other

21. Have you ever used any of the following college services? (Check all those that you have used.) Then indicate with a checkmark whether each service which you have used was: (1) Not very helpful; (2) Satisfactory; or (3) Very helpful.

Service	I used it	1 Not very helpful	2 Satisfactory	3 Very helpful
Library				
Career Center				
Job Service				
Financial Aid include work study				
Learning Assistance Center				
Chicano Services				
Special Services				
Student Clubs Specify:				
Other Specify:				

Because we are interested in the student perspective on this class and on the college, we would talk with some of you in person. We would like to explore with you what this experience is like for you and what you feel you are getting out of it. We are interested in learning about any difficulties you have had and how you have handled these difficulties. What do you think it takes for a student to get what he or she wants from this college experience?

If you would be willing to talk with me about some of these topics, please print your name, telephone number, and the hours you would be available.

Name ______________________________

Telephone Number (home) __________ (Work) ______________

I would prefer an interview:

____ on campus: Day(s) and time(s) available ______________
____ off campus: Day(s) and time(s) available ______________

STUDENT CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES QUESTIONNAIRE

A research project being conducted at Arizona State University is interested in learning what it is like to be a community college student. In particular, we would like to ask you some questions about your experience in this class. What kinds of demands are put on you and what strategies you use to achieve your goals for taking the course.

These questionnaires are anonymous. Only the overall general results will be reported. We would be happy to share these general results with any of you who are interested.

---

1. How would you describe how the instructor gets along with the class? (Circle one number)

1	2	3	4	5
does not get along				gets along very well

2. Does the instructor relate better with some kinds of students than others? Yes ____ No ____

Which kinds of students does he relate best with?

3. We would like to know about your goals or objectives for this course. Think about each of the following possible objectives in terms of these ratings:

Ratings:
1. a primary objective
2. a minor objective
3. not an objective

	How would you rate these as objectives for you?	How do you think your instructor would rate these as objectives for you?
Getting a good grade		
Getting credit		
Learning facts		
Learning major concepts		
Gaining skills specific to the subject of this class		
Gaining general thinking skills		
Gaining general reading, writing, speaking skills		

	How would you rate these as objectives for you?	How do you think your instructor would rate these as objectives for you?
Developing positive attitudes toward the subject of this class		
Enjoying social interaction with people		
Developing more self-confidence		

4. The following is a list of activities that might go on in this classroom. For each put a:
U if it usually occurs in this class
S if it sometimes occurs in this class
N if it never occurs in this class

___ lectures
___ discussions-whole class
___ discussions-small group
___ demonstrations
___ skill practice
___ use of audio visuals
___ instructor answers student question
___ student presentations
___ group projects
___ reading aloud
___ going over handouts
___ going over homework
___ instructor questions students
___ other (specify)

5. What do you, yourself, do in class? For each activity, put:
U if you usually do it
S if you sometimes do it
N if you never do it

___ take notes from board/overhead
___ take notes from instructor's talk (not on board or overhead)
___ ask instructor questions
___ answer the instructor's questions
___ talk to other students
___ do homework
___ listen and watch the instructor
___ read course related books
___ practice skills
___ in-class writing
___ in-class reading
___ Other (specify)

6. Outside the class, what activities do you do for this course? For each activity put:
U if you usually do it
S if you sometimes do it
N if you never do it

___ use textbook(s)

___ use notes from class

___ do some other reading

___ do some other writing

___ talk with instructor

___ talk with other students

___ talk with tutor

___ talk with friends, family

___ practice skills

___ library research

___ Other (specify)

7. For each language skill mentioned below, do two things. First, rate it for importance to your success in this class.
1 - especially important
2 - important
3 - not important

Then rate it for difficulty:
1 - most difficult
2 - difficult
3 - not difficult

	Importance to your success	Difficulty for you	Difficulty for other students
Listening			
Reading			
Writing notes			
Other writing			
Speaking			
Observing			
Manipulating			

8. How would you describe the instructor's style. Circle one number.

1	2	3	4	5
Very formal				Very informal

1	2	3	4	5
Much interaction with students				Does not interact with students

1	2	3	4	5
Structured				Not structured

9. What would an ideal (very best) class be like for you in terms of:

A. Number of students? __________

B. Major activities (check only one)

____ lecture

____ discussion

skill practice

____ audio visuals

C. Skill emphasis (check as many as apply)

____ lots of reading

____ lots of notetaking

____ lots of speaking in class

____ lots of writing

D. Type of evaluation: (check as many as apply. Double check the one you most prefer.)

___ essay test

____ short answer test

___ test with multiple choice, true/false matching

___ papers/reports/projects

___ performance (e.g. lab work, typing, art work, mechanical work)

___ class participation

___ graded homework

E. Evaluations (check only one)

___ frequent (weekly or biweekly)

___ 4 or 5 times a semester

___ 1 or 2 times a semester

Anatomy of the Analysis

In this section, we attempt to capture the anatomy of our analysis. We make no attempt, however, to present an indepth account of our procedures for analysis either during or after the field work phase of this research. During field work data collection, coding, and analysis were interactive. Once our field workers started collecting data, the coding and analysis processes also began. Thus, it would not be accurate to talk about collection, coding, and analysis as a linear, lock-step sequence. In coding and analyzing our data, we were influenced greatly by Theoretical Sensitivity (Glaser, 1978). The process of substantive and theoretical coding was complicated by the massive nature of the data set generated by our participant observation and interviews. We averaged approximately 1,300 pages of fieldnotes and interview protocols per semester of field work. To cope with our voluminous data base, we used coding dictionaries (appended). These coding dictionaries listed all substantive and theoretical codes used by the field worker. Some categories were common to all dictionaries (e.g., reading) while others were unique to particular classrooms or students (e.g., whistling). These coding dictionaries greatly enhanced our ability to retrieve data relevant to a particular category.

For heuristic purposes we discuss our analysis in terms of two major phases - during field work and post field work.

Analysis During Field Work

As Glaser (1978) points out, "budding analysts" often are susceptible to making errors as they work through the generating process. To offset partially these problems, we followed his suggestion that the research team hold a seminar of all committed full time participants. During each semester of data collection, all members of the instructional component participated in a weekly meeting. These meetings were devoted to substantive, methodological, and logistical issues. The division of labor included a notetaker, presentors, and reactors. The notetaker was responsible for summarizing the main points made during the meeting in the form of minutes (appended).

Part of the meeting was usually devoted to focused presentations on substantive and methodological issues. (These issues were identified at previous meetings and then placed on the agenda of subsequent meetings.) The other seminar participants made contributions by questioning the presentor, by reporting data which related to the topic, and by offering alternative hypotheses and explanations. These exchanges were particularly useful in elevating the level of our analysis.

Another part of our meeting was devoted to unstructured discussions of topics. Some topics emerged extemporaneously during the meeting. Others came up while participants were doing their field work and the meeting represented their first opportunity to talk about them. Often, the topics covered, particularly conceptual ones, resulted in research memos being written. (See appended material for examples of different types of memos.) Meetings typically lasted over two hours and were psychologically draining. Overall, these meetings were well worth the effort. They served as a forum for discussion of issues among all instructional researchers and permitted individuals to advance their ideas. In addition, participants were able to talk about and compare their experiences as field workers. Because one member of our research team was also part of the student service research team, this meeting also provided a vehicle for the exchange of information between project components.

Toward the end of each semester, a content outline for the classroom reports was developed (see Minutes of 12/04/80 Meeting). The outline was the product of the input of all research team members. It was reviewed for clarity before writing started. The content outline was critical because it insured that all reports would cover those categories which had emerged as most salient and central and also that all reports would

Coding Dictionary Listing
Economics 201
L. Watts: 11/20/80

Participant Observation

- Entree
- Mistakes
- Surprises
- Self-Presentation
- Problems
- Data Collection/Recording
- Building Rapport
- Interviews (:ST)
- Research task

Event Structure

- Routines
  - opening class
  - review
  - outlining
  - holding over
- Rules
  - Attendance
  - Grading
  - Testing
  - Lack thereof
- Setting

Instructor Style

- Board use
- Current events
- Objectives-IN
- Expectations
- Stock Expressions
- Definitions
- Tagging
- Spotting
- Repetition/Emphasis
- It's Friday!
- Hypothetical Sits.
- Facing/Pacing
- Framing Concepts
- Humor

Student Style

- Strategies
  - studying
  - talking w/students
  - w/instructor
- Responding in class
- Iniating Discussion (/not)
- Participant/non
- Sleeping in class
- Humor
- Absences
- Adaptations
  - of students
  - of instructor

Literacy

- Skills
  - Reading
    - text
    - board
  - *Questioning
  - *Responding
  - *Talking in class
  - Writing/notetaking
  - Doing math/diagrams
- Demands
- Development of Reasoning Skills
- Manipulating Concepts
- Learning Terminology
- Literacy
  - Perceptions about
    - researcher
    - student
    - instructor
  - Economic lit.

Interaction

- Q-R Patterning
- Seating
- Key/non-participants
- Social Organization
- Eye contact
- Proxemics
- Prosodics
  - in/our synch
  - cueing
  - shift/transition
  - conclusions
- Speech acts
- Networks

Use of Materials

- Text
- Outside refs.
- Handouts
  - outline
- Content
  - Key concepts
  - (spotting)
- Board

Meanings/Perceptions

- Perceptions
  - Researcher/about ___
  - Student/about ___
  - Instructor/about ___
- Impressions
  - Researcher/about ___
  - Student/about ___
  - Instructor/about ___

Grab-bag

- Curriculum (program)
- Instructor background
- Scheduling
- Retention

* Speaking

MINUTES OF 9/11/80 IC RESEARCH MEETING

Present: Linda, Elizabeth, Ginny, Keith, Monica, Max, Paula, Lou, Morris and Mark.

I. The minutes of the 9/4/80 meeting were reviewed and approved.

II. Morris noted that half of the P.O.s had turned in their textbooks and requested that the others do so by next week so that Keith and Kay could have access to them.

III. Morris announced that, because of budgetary considerations, P.O.s who have been going to Oakwood on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday will have to cut back to two days. This policy will be effective as of next week. Morris suggested that P.O.s rotate the day of the week that is to be missed.

IV. Morris announced that the project had hired a staff assistant on a temporary basis. While the clerical staff remains behind on typing up fieldnotes, things should ease up as they complete final reports from last year. P.O.s are requested to bear with them.

Two clerical matters were called to the project members' attention:

1. P.O.s should be sure to include quotation marks when indicating direct quotes in their fieldnotes or specifically indicate that something should be put in quotes.
2. P.O.s are to leave a wide left-hand margin on research memos for comments by Morris.

V. Morris noted that he needed to set up individual appointments with some IC members and did so.

VI. Both Linda and Keith suggested that memoing should be spontaneous and Elizabeth noted that, just by examining the dictionary of codes, additional topics for memoing may emerge.

Morris said that P.O.s ought to number the memos they write because a running tally will make them easier to share. In response to a question, Morris emphasized that the list of codes established at the first group meeting should not be restrictive. P.O.s should code any subject that seems relevant. Also, at some point, it will be necessary to examine codes for overlap.

VII. Noting that the IC was beginning a survey study, Morris said there was a need to know the number of students in the observed classes so an appropriate number of forms could be run. Questioning the P.O.s indicated that an approximate total of 320 forms was needed.

VIII. Elizabeth spoke on the "Student Characteristics Questionnaire". She noted this questionnaire grew out of open-ended interviews conducted by Nancy Siefer, Liz, and herself last year and consultations with Morris and Kay, and that its content represented the most interesting background information resulting from those interviews. The questionnaire will serve two purposes: (1) It will provide overall information on the classes for the P.O.s' write-ups; and (2) It will help in the selection of the small sample of students to be formally interviewed.

Regarding the completion of the questionnaire, the following points were made:

1. Multiple codes are okay on some items.
2. Question 21 is written ambiguously. P.O.s should point out to the students that they should only comment on student services which they themselves had used.
3. Students do not have to specify their names unless they wish to. P.O.s should encourage this for the purpose of the formal interviews. Those students who are interested

in being interviewed should fill out the last section of the form.

4. Where the category "other" is used to answer a question, students are to be encouraged to specify their responses.

Morris noted that the instructors have been informed that the questionnaires are to be distributed sometime next week. P.O.s must negotiate the exact time this week. P.O.s will also be responsible for coding the results on the coding forms which will be the basis for entering data for computer analysis. Once stored in the computer this information will be available for use, as needed.

Linda asked how this questionnaire will be used in conjunction with the one being prepared by the Student Services component. Morris responded by noting that Kay had seen the Student Characteristics Questionnaire and that point would serve as a validity check for these findings.

In response to a question about the nature of the faculty sample designated for interview, Morris noted that two criteria had been established so far:

(1) Those who were identified as "gatekeepers", and
(2) Those whose classes had a high frequency of non-majors.

A question was posed regarding what information about the follow-up interview P.O.s ought to provide the students at the time of the completion of the Student Characteristics Questionnaires. Elizabeth advised the P.O.s that there will be an out-of-class interview of approximately 45 minutes to be given at midterm. It will emphasize activities and demands.

In response to a question, Morris indicated that there will be only one interview of each faculty member selected for the broadbased faculty study.

Elizabeth informed the P.O.s that conversation guides for the student interviews will be available next Thursday. Paula and Max indicated that they would also like to see them so that they can gear their teacher interviews to them.

IX. At this point the P.O.s reported the salient features of their research memos on social interaction. These and the various comments they engendered are as follows:

1. Ginny
   a.) The instructor demanded her own social space. Morris noted that the task analysis of this instructor indicated that she believed herself to be a disseminator of knowledge.
   b.) The instructor exhibited "mothering". Morris noted how this role contrasted with her role as disseminator.

(Here a discussion about the construction of memos occurred. Morris urged the use of side headings so that memos can be broken up onto separate index cards and the use of key words on the top right-hand side of the first page. Also, at the end of the memo the P.O. should jot down hypotheses.

A question arose as to whether P.O.s should be using other people's memos. Morris suggested that each P.O. periodically read through the memos of the others. If something a P.O. is interested in keeps popping up in someone else's memo, then that P.O. should contact the other person and request more information of him or her, including access to his or her fieldnotes.

Morris left the P.O.s with this epigrammatic gem: "There's no end to an ethnographer's day.")

2. Monica
   The instructor uses formal recitation as the principal form of instruction. Morris noted that this was consonant with her use of tests based on memorization.

3. Lou
   a.) The instructor uses a combined lecturing-questioning format of instruction. Elizabeth wondered if he might be modelling. Lou replied that there were elements of this in his style.
   b.) Lou also reported on the seating pattern and the pattern of student response. Morris suggested the possibility of a seating arrangement memo, including a diagram.

4. Mark
   In his pattern of responding to questions, the instructor favors males over females and is judgmental.
   Linda and Morris suggested that Mark analyze teacher's responses for positive and negative feedback and that he contact students directly in out-of-class contexts.

5. Linda
   Linda provided a detailed diagram of student-student interactions. She also noted instances of students vying for attention and of the instructor attempting to gain social control.

6. Elizabeth
   a.) Elizabeth described the event structure of a typical day, noting the tendency of students to linger before and after class. Morris suggested that this lingering might be related to the instructor's notion that his students were in the process of becoming psychologists.
   b.) Elizabeth also noted the pattern of student questioning. Linda suggested, in view of the many references in today's memos to teacher and student questioning, a general memo on this topic.

X. Keith noted that the textbooks have taken on a different function this year. They are a less passive tool. This will make the material-analysis phase of the project more interesting. Keith would like to share with the staff what he does with the textbooks. "What he does with them" will be severely limited without information from the P.O.s, such as how the students use the books, what the teachers say about them, etc.

Respectfully submitted,

Lou Attinasi

(Example of a substantive memo dealing with emic data on the classroom)

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM

TO: Project Staff
FROM: Ernie Lara
DATE: May 16, 1980
RE: Somos Ninos

"Somos Ninos" - "We are Children" - This theme has been raised several times in the Intensive English as a Second Language course. The questions that it brings to mind are: Do older adults learn new languages just as children do? Are there methods which can utilize the older adult's prior experience to help him master the new language or are they "children"?

The first occurrence was during the third week of instruction when a student became frustrated at not knowing the Instructor's answer, he responded "Somos Ninos". Several weeks later, another student was working on a handout and he made a mistake and asked for another sheet of paper. He was told by the aide that "this was his third sheet and this was his last one." The student responded that he was "just like a child in elementary school."

During the interviews, the students responded that one of the main rules was "we do not chew gum when we speak English." This is a rule that all the students identified and it seems very similar to the "elementary school setting." The theme of the elementary environment is one that immediately came to my attention at the beginning of the semester and it has continued. I recorded very early in my fieldnotes that the Instructor's style was that of an elementary school teacher.

The "elementary school setting" is in contrast to the student's response to the question of "How is a student to conduct him/herself in class?" They all responded that they were adults and they should behave and act as adults. They defined this adult behavior as "listening to the teacher, only discussing class related matters during class time, doing the work assigned by instructors, and taking the course seriously (doing one's best).

The question can also be asked: Was this idea of "Somos Ninos" a result of the Instructor's style or is it inherent in teaching and learning a new language?

ELbac

(Example of a conceptual memo aimed at integrating data from the Instructional component with data from other components of the project.)

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM

TO: Researchers
FROM: Rick Walsh
DATE: March 5, 1981
RE: Filtered Perceptions

This memo outlines some thoughts regarding "II.A. Perceptions of College Purpose and Priorities" on the outline for the writing of the section on Oakwood.

It would seem that there is a filtering effect when it comes to the perception of District/College purpose and priorities by different groups. This filtering occurs through the group(s) occupying higher levels in the hierarchy of the organization. Administrators either are the origins of information or have direct contact with the sources (the District, the President, the Administrative Council). Faculty perceive the purpose and priorities in documents, from administrators or from other faculty from administrators. There is little, if any, direct contact with the "origin". There, perception is based on the interpretation of (1) administrators and (2) themselves. Students then see the organization through a double filter system with multiple interpretation. The result - distortion. Their primary sources are documents and behavior.

This system of filters and interpretations are two way and may serve to explain why administrators' knowledge of students and the classroom is limited and usually restricted to simple quantitative description (number of students, ethnic breakdown, size of classes, etc.). When the District Office is included, the system is further complicated.

In Support:

1. A preliminary analysis of the communications data shows that administrators at the college level are more likely to talk to District administrators - faculty are not. Faculty report they communicate most with other faculty, almost exclusively at their own campus.

2. Faculty response to certain issues is often in relation to something far from what really occurred but what they have heard has occurred. (i.e. the President placing blame for a discussion about developmental education when it was his decision.)

3. The decision by the President of the College to implement those JCEP priorities he sees fit to. The faculty thus perceive those implemented as being the total list.

4. The District Office's data on students is limited to demographics available from the student applications (see Fact Book).

5. Administrators have often made the comment that they don't have any idea who the students really are (see minutes of CEC meeting and fieldnotes of conversations with administrators), e.g. conversation of October 28, 1980, 12:45 p.m., "She felt that the District knows very little about the actual characteristics of the students."

(One of a series of memos on our emerging definition of literacy. It is an example of the type of speculative memo that was encouraged.)

MEMORANDUM

TO: Participant Observers
FROM: Liz Warren
DATE: February 19, 1981
RE: What is Literacy?

In the instructional component of our project, the immediate context has been the community college classroom. Although there has always been an awareness that the classroom was part of a larger college, district and community context, the events and acts studied in this component were in relation to the classroom. So the literacy situation for our ends was the classroom. Literacy events were specific to particular classes, but also shared across classes and could be described as the demands or activities of the claws or those things that students needed to participate in. What I have in mind here are lectures, labs, tests, study sheets, films, book reports, and whatever else. The literacy events are part of the class and probably, in most cases, established by the instructor. Literacy tasks represent the strategies, either individual or group, that students use to tackle literacy events. Notetaking is a literacy act; so is studying and reading.

But notetaking, studying and reading are complex things. Not every student takes notes, studies or reads the same way. There are facets of literacy acts that are comparable from student to student. Not that every student has the identical set of components or repertoire, or that he or she would use them in the same way. Rather that each student has a repertoire of skills such as reading, re-reading, underlining, taking notes from the book, board or lecture, listening, monitoring, watching, outlining, questioning, etc. Literacy tasks are comprised of one or more of these facets (or Literacy acts) which the students use to deal with classroom literacy events. For example, in History 103 the instructor lectured for the entire period. This was the literacy event. It was the instructor's assumption that the students would take notes, which most of the students did. But (as you might have guessed) they did not all do it in the same way. One student reported that he listened intently and tried to write everything down, but was frequently frustrated because the instructor interspersed many anecdotes in his lecture. Another student also reported that she took notes on the lecture. However, she did not listen intently. She read her book and did monitoring listening; she listened for a rise in the instructor's tone of voice that signalled to her a return to the lecture. Both students were involved in a literacy task (in response to a literacy event) which they called notetaking. However, they did not draw the same acts or skills from their repertoire, their bag of literacy tricks, to accomplish that task.

This is a definition of literacy. It is situationally, even individually defined as the competence to choose among the repertoire of language acts that a student brings to bear on the literacy events of the class. As such, the physical setting, roles, rules, goals, functions, use of time, and everything else our component has studied, constantly impact upon and modify the students' repertoire. What we are trying to define and write for ourselves now is the relation between the two areas and an adequate description of each.

LWbac

be organized the same way. Each participant observer produced a separate report for each class they observed in (except for Block classes). These classroom reports were amplified by materials analyses and instructional design reports on the same classes.

After these reports were assembled, the instructional design interviewer, the materials analyst, and each participant observer met. Their meeting was devoted to triangulating the results gleaned from application of the different data collection techniques. A memo was written which summarized the results of each of these "debriefing" sessions. Finally, an all day session was used to gain temporary closure. The major findings and hypotheses were discussed and delineated. Then the instructional research coordinator compiled the classroom, materials analysis, and instructional design reports into a semester report. These reports also included a statement of grounded findings and hypotheses and a recommendation for methodological modifications.

Post Field Work Phase

The post field work phase consisted of two subphases. During subphase one, the analysis became focused. Participant observers assumed responsibility for segments of the data base and for writing reports on categories which had "earned the right" to be part of our final conceptual framework. During subphase two, the analysis was completed by two members of the instructional research team in consultation with the participant observers.

Focusing the Analysis. During the spring semester of 1981, the research team faced the task of focusing the analysis. We began this task by summarizing the data collected by our component (see research memo 1/12/81). Then we made assignments regarding coverage of all of our data sets. Having divided up our data base, we held a meeting to discuss responsibilities for the analysis of our major categories and the relationship between our findings and those emanating from the administrative and student service components (see excerpts from minutes of 01/26/81 and 02/05/81 meetings).

The group analysis procedure we employed is summarized below:

Each individual responsible for a category wrote a prologue in which they set the stage for a search of the data base (see example). At the next weekly meeting, research memos written in response to the prologues were distributed (see Research Memos from Liz Warren to Lou Attinasi). Then at the following weekly meeting, a discussion on the topic of the prologue was held. This discussion focused on gaps in the data base and on analysis. Next, we had one-hour presentations on all categories. Each presentation was followed by a 30 minute discussion. These sessions were audiotaped for use in analysis and writing. After we had cycled through all our presentations, we held an all day meeting devoted to analysis of each category in relation to the other categories and to our core variable, literacy. At this meeting we also reviewed a list of all of the major findings and hypotheses produced by our research component. Then, each person wrote a report on the category they were responsible for, following the specified format.

Completing the Analysis. There were three goals for the final phase of analysis: (1) clarify, extend, and refine the major categories developed during the focusing phase; (2) make explicit the interrelationships among topic areas; and (3) adopt a theoretical orientation which incorporates the major categories and their interrelationships and leads to a conceptual framework for, and a definition of, literacy.

These goals were accomplished through a tentative process which alternated between more and less analytic "levels" of data analysis as major concepts were clarified and generalizations tested. Two members of the instructional component staff were responsible for the final stage of analysis of that component's data. They also served with representatives

MINUTES OF IC MEETING: 12/04/80

Present: Ginnie, Lou, Liz, Elizabeth, Max, Keith, Monica, Mark and Morris.

Recording: Morris

The meeting was devoted to finalizing the topical outline for class write-ups. We ended up with the following outline:

I. Basic Fact Sheet

  A. Demographics
  B. Course name and number
  C. Location of class
  D. Drop-out rate
  E. Prerequisites
  F. Etc.

II. Marker Events During Semester

  A. Chart depicting "significant" events which occurred over the course of the semester.
  B. Description of these events and their impact on the participants and on literacy events (as appropriate).

III. Modal Class Session

  A. First person narrative which tells the story of a typical class from pre-class activity through post-class activity.
  B. (Optional) If another type of class session occurred with sufficient frequency (e.g. test or review periods), then do a narrative for this type of class also.

IV. Participants

  A. Teacher (IN)
    1. Sociodemographic factors
    2. Attitudes, expectations, etc.
    3. Objectives
    4. Personal resources
    5. Internal resources (on-campus)
    6. External resources (off-campus)
    7. Style and strategy
    8. Profile

  B. Students
    1-7. As above
    8. Types of students (profile)

  C. Other (e.g., tutors)?

V. Physical Setting

  A. Descriptions of environment
  B. Spatial relationships (a map is helpful here).
  C. Seating patterns
  D. Etc.

VI. Event Structure During Class Sessions

  A. Chart depicting phases of classroom session
  B. Description of these phases
  C. Description of transitions between phases
  D. Variations in event structure

VII. Social Context During Event Structure Phases

- A. Rules
- B. Roles
- C. Interaction patterns

VIII. Literacy "Acts" (Use of communication skills to carry out class related tasks). You will have to exercise some judgment here. Pick re-occurring acts and ones which the instructor and students felt were important (e.g. paying attention, studying, asking questions).

- A. Describe Each Literacy Act in Detail
    1. Specific context (where and when)
    2. Process (how and what)
    3. Function (consequences)
    4. Purpose and participants (why and who)
    5. Content (topic, broadly stated)
    6. Flow (relate to pre- and post-activity)
    7. Strategies involved in physically carrying out act
- B. Describe use of communication skills
    1. Reading
    2. Writing
    3. Speaking
    4. Listening
    5. Calculating
    6. Watching

IX. Strategies and Adaptation (This is a summary statement of adaptations made by instructor and students during the semester.)

X. Final Outcomes

We don't have much data yet on outcomes. However, you may have some (e.g. retention rates, test scores).

Notes:

1. We agreed to discuss change and adaptation throughout the report.

2. We agreed to include etic and emic perspectives throughout the report. While emic data is particularly valuable, etic data is also necessary. Be sure to include both and label them as such.

3. We reviewed the referencing format to be used in write-ups.

4. We cancelled the individual weekly meetings for this week.

5. We will meet on December 17th.

6. I will review the pilot write-ups turned in by Monica, Lou, Ginnie and Mark and schedule appointments with them.

7. I encourage "new" P.O.s to read write-ups done by Liz and Elizabeth to get a feel for the task. Then you can talk to them if you have any questions about how or what they wrote.

8. Recognizing our time constraints, the deadline for receiving reports was set for 1/7/81. This is late, but the extra time should permit you to write a better report. Don't wait to the last minute and don't be late! Writing is difficult and your report is crucial (what you put on paper is what I've got to work with). I'll be around until 12/24. If you run into trouble, give me a call.

MAO:ph

1/12/81

Research Memo
Summary of Data Collected by IN Component

Formal data collection in the IC of the Project began in the Summer, 1979. Data collection continued in the Fall 1979, Spring 1980 and Fall 1980. This memo summaries the types of data collected and reports written by the IN Component by semester and year.

I. Summer 1979:

A. During the summer, a complete pilot was done in the Intro to Business course, GB 151. The following data were collected:

1. Task analysis
2. Materials analysis
3. Fieldnotes (FN) from classroom observations
4. Classroom observation report by Linda

B. A preliminary report was prepared for NIE. Information pertaining to the IC was embedded in this report. The emphasis was on describing the piloting of the procedures to be used in the conduct of the actual study.

II. Fall 1979:

A. An IC Report was prepared for this semester. The report was divided into several sections as follows:

1. Introduction
    a. Methodology
    b. Implications for methodology
    c. Significant findings
    d. Forms for future use
2. Instructional Design Report done by individual classes
3. Writing demands (general summary)
4. Classroom observations reports
    a. Math 059 (Block I Math) plus Int. Summary Report (Julie)
    b. Electronics 100 (Ernie)
    c. English 015 (Liz)
    d. History 101 (Elizabeth)
    e. Automotive 104 (Chris)
    f. Psychology 101 (Betsy)
5. Materials Analysis (see a-f above)
6. Class Synthesis Reports (see a-f above)
7. Findings and Hypotheses

B. Sample Fieldnotes (see a-f above)

C. Fall 1979 Interview Schedule

1. Completed interview schedule
2. Two interview reports (Julie and Ernie)
3. One copy of interview data (Chris)

D. Test Analysis

1. History 101
2. Psychology 101

E. Cloze Test

1. History 101

III. Spring 1980:

A. An IN Report was prepared for this semester. This report was divided into several sections as follows:

1. Instructional Summary
    a. Methodology
    b. Directions for future research
    c. Preliminary findings
    d. Outline of faculty ethnography (Betsy)
2. Task Analysis Reports done by individual classes
3. Faculty ethnography
4. Classroom observation reports
    a. Block I (Liz)
    b. English 91-101 and English 101 (Elizabeth)
    c. Math 121 and Math 117 (Elizabeth)
    d. Block II (Julie)
    e. Reading 010 (Nancy)
    f. English 059 (Ernie)
5. Materials Analysis
    a. Block I - Math
    b. Math 117
    c. Block II (Reading, English Grammar)
    d. Reading 010
    e. Reading 098 (Nancy visited 098 as well as being P.O. in 010)

B. Sample Fieldnotes

1. Block I (Liz)
2. English 91-101 and English 101 (Elizabeth)
3. Math 121 and 117 (Elizabeth)
4. Block II (Julie)
5. Reading 010 (Nancy)
6. English 059 (Ernie)

C. Spring 1980 Interview Schedule

1. Completed interview schedule for 1-6 above
2. Protocols classified by topic
3. Protocols classified by class
4. Set of codes which were developed
5. Suggestions for development of interview schedule

D. Selected Research Memos

IV. Summer 1980:

An interim report was prepared for NIE. Information pertaining to the IC was embedded in Chapters 5 and 6 of this report. The emphasis was on describing the curriculum and classes we observed and on discussing our findings vis-a-vis literacy in the college classroom.

V. Fall 1980:

The following data were collected:

A. Task Analysis Reports by individual classes

B. Classroom Observation Reports
1. Economics 201 (Linda)
2. Nutrition 141 (Monica)
3. Psychology 290 (Elizabeth)
4. Business Statistics 221 (Lou)
5. Microbiology 203 (Ginnie)
6. English 102 (Mark)
7. Business Machines 205 (Liz)
8. History 103 (Liz)

C. Materials Analysis (see 1-8 above)

D. Sample Fieldnotes (see 1-8 above)

E. Spring 1980 Interview Schedule for students
(Completed interview schedules for 1-8 above)

F. Spring 1980 Interview Schedules for Faculty
(Completed interview schedules for approximately 30 faculty)

G. Audiotapes
   1. Nutrition 141 (Monica)
   2. Microbiology 230 (Ginnie)
   3. English 102 (Mark)

H. Demographics Questionnaire for Students (see 1-8 above)

I. Minutes of weekly meetings

J. Outline for Fall 1980 Write-ups

K. Tentative Outline for IC for Final Report

L. Student Class Activities Questionnaire

(Excerpt from Minutes of IC Meeting on 01/26/81)

III. The data base was divided up for the purpose of searching for data related to our main categories. Responsibilities are listed below.

Individual Responsible for Data Set	Type of Data Set
Liz Warren	RE 010, Block I, Block II, ESL
Virginia Stahl	EN 015, EN 91-101, EN 101, EN 102
Lou Attinasi	MA 059, MA 117, MA 121, EC 201
Monica Lowe	GB 221, GB 151, EL 100, HE 141 and liaison with Student Services data set.
Elizabeth Fisk	BI 203, AU 104, OE 205, PY 290 and current research on literacy.
Linda Watts	HI 103, PY 101, HI 101
Nancy Siefer	In-depth student interviews
Rick Walsh	Liaison with Administrative data set
Keith Thomas	Materials data set
Morris Okun	Task Analysis and faculty interviews data set.

(Excerpt from Minutes of IC Meeting on 02/05/81)

II. The main categories we are using and the individuals responsible for those categories are noted below:

Liz Warren: Physical setting, seating, spatial relationships.

Linda Watts: Social interaction, participant types, participant structures.

Elizabeth Fisk: Event structures.

Lou Attinasi: Purpose, goals, objectives, meanings and "success" from students' perspective.

Morris Okun: Purpose, goals, objectives, meanings and "success" from instructors' perspective.

Keith Thomas: Strategies of instructors and students.

Virginia Stahl: Time.

__Note__: Ernie Lara is working on Developmental Studies. In addition, Rick Walsh is working on the relation between Instruction and Administration and Monica Lowe is working on the relation between Instruction and Student Services.

PROLOGUE: PHYSICAL SETTING AND SEATING

In our many months at OCC we have discovered that seating is not random. Students, whether consciously or unconsciously, organize themselves in meaningful ways. Before we really describe student seating patterns we need a detailed description of the physical setting of each classroom. This should be easy to find in the reports and should include:

- approximate size in feet of the room
- color(s)
- placement of windows and doors
- number and placement of blackboards, clocks, maps, screens and all other objects in the room
- arrangement of student desks or tables
- teacher's desk, table or podium

A map would probably be very helpful here. Also include the building and room number, and any impediments or aids to finding the classroom. If the P.O. made any reference to the "feeling" of the room, such as cheery, dismal, serious, whatever, please note this too.

Students are part of the physical setting too. Not all the student characteristics listed below will exist in one classroom, but this should give you an idea of the range of things to look for. How do students group themselves?

- sex, do men sit in one area and women in another?
- race or ethnicity
- age, do older or younger people group together
- common language
- talkative vs. quiet vs. jokers etc, in other words, where do people who occupy certain roles in the class sit? Is this stable?
- majors vs. non-majors
- good students vs. poor vs. average, do certain areas of the room correlate with proficiency of students or final grades?
- literacy strategies, do people in different sections of the room do different things (sleep vs. notes)
- veterans vs. non-veterans

Also be aware that the instructor can have a big effect on seating. It's important to note:

- which side of the board the IN writes on
- where the IN habitually stands and whether this correlates with a certain group of students
- does the IN change locations for different activities or speech registers, such as joking, stories or lecture
- is the IN right or left handed
- does the IN respond differently to different sections of the room? If so, what kinds of students are in these sections?
- what is the IN's natural gaze direction?

Seating may also vary by program. Look for patterns that may be peculiar to a progam type (occupational, transfer, developmental) or a class type (lecture, discussion, etc). Does size in numbers affect seating: is a class of 80 different from one of 40?

If possible provide a map of a typical seating pattern. Pack as much of the above information on to it as you can. It's much easier to see patterns when you have the little diagrams in front of you.

VERY IMPORTANT: throughout your searching and map making be sensitive to how the patterns change through time, or in relation to the event structure of the semester!

To summarize: what I'm asking for (please) is:

- 1 map of the physical setting without people
- 1 map (or more if necessary) of the typical seating pattern, with as much information about the people as possible
- a memo with your hypotheses

If you have questions call me at 268-4913. Thanks!

LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM

TO: Lou Attinasi
FROM: Liz Warren
DATE: March 16, 1981
RE: RE010 (Siefer) and Block I (Warren)

I.A., B., and C. Here are the interview summaries from Nancy's report. I don't have the original interviews to abstract from.

Student Objectives

During the interviews, seven questions were asked that dealt directly with student objectives for this class, for OCC, and for future classes and/or careers.

Question #30 asked, "What made you decide to attend college?" The responses always included a desire to improve English skills in order to get a job, advance in a job or to earn more money. One student (TIN) mentioned "Being around other people" as a reason and another (SUP) "I didn't know what else to do."

Question #33 inquired about the reasons for choosing Oakwood Community College. For most students the choice of Oakwood Community College was due to the fact that it was near their homes. One student (TIN) said she chose Oakwood because a friend told her that a bilingual instructor taught electronics at Oakwood.

For questions #37 and #38: "What were you originally hoping to get out of this class?" and "Are you getting what you hoped you would or something else?" Most students again expressed that their objectives for taking this class centered on acquiring English skills, specifically speaking or conversation skills, but also reading, listening, and vocabulary improvement. With the exception of two students, all felt that their objectives were more or less being fulfilled by this class. One student (JA) wanted more emphasis on vocabulary improvement and "Not just reading." The other (FR) found the class "interesting but sometimes it's slow." This particular student was perhaps the most advanced of all the students in her command of spoken English and in her knowledge of English grammar. (She told the participant observer that she has a Doctorate in Psychology from a French university.)

One of the students (MIC) did not answer questions #37 and #38 claiming he did not understand the questions. He understood the words and the meaning of the sentence as the participant observer and the student went over them in both English and Spanish. His confusion stemmed from the fact that it seemed impossible to answer what to expect from a class that he had not yet completed. No other student expressed this view.

Questions #109 "Has the work you've done in this class been worthwhile?", and #140 "What have you learned?", and #141 "Did you learn what the instructor planned for you to learn?" offered some insight into whether the students' objectives were fulfilled and if these objectives coincided with those of the instructor. Most of the students felt that the work they had done in this class had been worthwhile and that they learned what the instructor had intended.

In comparing the answers to questions #37 and #140, however, an interesting discrepancy occurred, i.e., what students had originally hoped to obtain from the class did not agree with what they eventually thought they had learned from the class. For example, one student (CHI) answered question #37 with "speak English" and responded to question #140 with "How to read the stories in the book." Another student (FR) said in #37 "Speak more and more" and in #140 answered "General things I understand better." Others (KY) would reply "Reading" to #37 and "Grammar" to #140.

Perhaps the reason for this was that the students did not perceive any discrepancy. That is, listening was a part of speaking; speaking a part of reading; reading a part of writing; and that the expectation to learn one assumed the learning of the others. Literacy skills, in their minds were not separated into neat categories such as listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The instructor was expected to teach all of these skills in spite of the class title, Reading 010. None of the students interviewed expected to learn just reading. In fact, most of the students mentioned reading behind the objective of learning to speak with correct pronunciation.

Perhaps for future studies it might be illuminating to ask students question #37 "What were you originally hoping to get out of this class?" At the beginning of the semester and wait until the semester is over to ask question #140 "What have you learned?" or question #140 could be asked twice, once at the beginning and again at the end of the semester.

Commonalities and Differences in Instructor and Student Objectives

It appeared that the primary student objective was to learn to understand and speak well, pronounceable English. This was also the objective of the instructor, albeit implicitly. The explicit objectives of the instructor focused on breaking up a diverse class into manageable, meaningful groups according to their proficiency in listening, writing, speaking, and reading English, with emphasis on the latter two as criteria for being placed in the advance group (with the instructor) or the beginning group (with the tutor).

Nancy's report covers IA, B and C. I can't find much on D.

II.A. Students tended only slightly to sit in ethnic groups. It was difficult to group because there were eight nationalities represented in the class. The six students from Vietnam were all part of one family and they formed a natural support group for each other.

B. Nancy deals with these questions very well in the attached sections from her final report, anyway as far as their opinions about the IN. I don't have much relating this to other factors or, unfortunately, to the adoption of literacy strategies.

III. All I have on success is what was excerpted from the interviews as attached in Section I. Given the limited amount of native English speakers in the class, this kind of data would have been hard to get. Fifteen students received passing grades (success?), four withdrew and three did not pass. Students reported, in interviews, that to pass the class it was most important to (1) study and do homework, (2) be attentive during class, (3) come to class every day. (FR, p.13) Evidently, none mentioned the two standardized tests that the IN included in her criteria for passing.

Students' Opinions of Instructor Methodology and Style

All of the students found the IN's methodology and style of teaching to be very good. All appreciated her efforts in finding solutions to the many different English proficiency levels within the class though some felt she failed especially with the more advanced student.

#68 "Does the IN take into account what you already know?"
FR: "She knows, but does not make my lessons different."

#69 "How do you think the IN feels about the students in the class?"
FR: "It's difficult to say. I think she knows that we are very different and she tries to adapt."
KY: "She thinks everyone is a good student. Many different levels and very difficult to teach."

All the students could recommend this class (#143) to someone they knew. FR qualified his statement by adding that the class was better suited for less advanced students of English grammar.

To pass this class, students felt it was most important to 1) study (do homework), 2) be attentive during class, and 3) come to class every day. This corresponded well with the IN's criteria for a passing grade: 1) results of the B-B-H (or Tests of Adult Basic Education), 2) participate in class and 3) good attendance (5-2, 1:54-58).

Students interviewed commented on the way the IN spoke during the lessons.

#144 "What have you liked about the subject?"

TIN: "The teacher speaks slowly and perfectly."
KORCH: "I liked the conversation and pronunciation."
MIC: "I liked the way of the teacher, how she explains everything, her pronunciation."

Student Opinions of Course Content

Interview data revealed few direct statements about the course content. Most students apparently enjoyed the stories in the textbook, Light and Lively, although all of them, with one exception, commented on the difficulty they encountered in reading the stories, specifically the vocabulary and preponderance of uncommon idiomatic expressions.

KORCH, TIN and CHI found the stories very time consuming and used their dictionaries extensively. Only FR found the stories easy to comprehend.

LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM

TO: Lou Attinasi
FROM: Liz Warren
DATE: March 16, 1981
RE: Block II (Bertch) and Block I (Warren)

I.A and B. This class was the follow-up to Block I. Reading was really emphasized. Learning reading and use better was a common objective. From her interviews, Julie summarizes:

The English instructor implied that the goal of the course was to improve students' competencies in the English language, describing the reading, writing, and speaking they would do. She also emphasized her intent to teach them the process of thinking. The reading instructor told the class the first day that the objectives of this component were to improve their general reading ability and their ability to recognize words and understand their meanings. He also commented that he wanted to turn them into active learners. The counseling instructor described the objectives of this class as providing practice in speaking English and helping the students understand their role as Oakwood students as well as learning new words and finding a new job or career that would improve their lives.

These goals match those of the students: they believe that improved English is the way to better opportunities. Most (half of those interviewed) are looking for certification in some field, two name a specific skill as a goal, one a GED, one an A.A. degree. All of those interviewed who were originally hoping for a specific goal felt they were getting what they came for. They described the effect of the course on their goals as positive: one mentioned developing more enthusiasm, another commented that enjoying her new friends makes her want to learn English, a third felt he was making real progress.

Three students mentioned English skills as the particular area they wish to study, two electronics, two sewing or tailoring, one nursing and one banking.

C. In adapting to the students' goals, the Counseling IN allowed the students to discuss their homework and other classwork in his class. The students had complained about the English IN's discussion days (every Friday) because they weren't learning to read by doing that. Some also complained about special speakers who came to class, for the same reason.

D. In keeping with this, students were often reticent to speak out in English class on discussion days. This may have been affected by the seating being circular for discussions.

II.A. Possibly by degree of participation. A group of women moved away from a male student in class who was described as a "know it all" and talked frequently in class. (FN 4/29, p.2:45-51)

B. Response from interview data. (FR, p. 11)

Questions concerning the ideal brought good response. A class is good when the subject area is interesting, when it allows for student interaction, when the teacher is patient and when the student sees his progress, is doing well and makes good grades. A good teacher treats people well, is patient, encouraging and interested in his students, doesn't get irritated, is fun or at least not too serious, treats students like people and makes them feel comfortable, makes sure they understand, provides a non-threatening atmosphere, gives them confidence and is honest and somewhat strict. The class they describe as the kind they do best in is one where they worked at their own speed, learned things they didn't know, understood what they were being taught, liked both the subject and the teacher, worked at an appropriate level on a subject that seemed important and had confidence in their ability to do well.

III. As in Ernie's ESL, four of the students interviewed didn't know if they were ready to go on, they thought that was the teacher's decision.

These are the interview comments from the Outcomes section of the Final Report, page 11:

Wanted to take an ESL course next, three wanted more English, one math, one history, one electronics and one banking. Two want to avoid more reading classes, one history and one math.

All eight indicated that their work in the block had been worthwhile. Asked what they had learned, they replied "English skills," "words", "spelling", "pronunciation", "sentence construction", "reading", "numbers/multiplication (obviously someone who had also been in Block I)", and finally "confidence".

All felt they had learned what the instructors had planned for them to learn and all but one expected to get credit. One was aware that her absences would prevent her getting credit. All would recommend the block to someone else, with one student qualifying his initial "yes" to a "maybe".

When asked what they liked about the subject, answers ranged from general responses such as "the reading class" and "everything" to more specific remarks such as "content," "improving skills" and "being around people".

Note: Julie has said (in conversation) that success was measured by learning to read, write and speak better, as it was in Block I and Ernie's ESL class.

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM

TO: P.O.s
FROM: Morris
DATE: May 5, 1981
RE: Content Outline for Thematic Write-Ups

1. Definition of topic

2. List of categories (concepts) used to analyze the data

   a) How we arrived at categories - emic and etic

3. Description of categories and attributes:

   a) Text
   b) Charts
   c) Counts
   d) Examples (Quotes; Memos)

4. Interrelationships among categories (analytical framework):

   a) Text
   b) Diagram
   c) Examples as needed

5. Relationship of category set (or system) to literacy (see definition of literacy)

6. Indepth illustration from 1 or 2 classes of how the category set and analytical framework help to describe and explicate literacy-related phenomenon.

7. Implications and issues for:

   a) Theory
   b) Policy and Practice
   c) Research Methodology
   d) Future Research

8. Summary with major findings prioritized

9. Appendix which includes documentation related to all previous sections as appropriate (see Notes on Documentation)

of other components on the final analysis team for the project as a whole. The major steps carried out in completing the analysis for the instructional component are described below.

To refine each major concept, the thematic papers submitted by participant observers at the completion of the focusing phase were reviewed. Aspects of the reports that were ambiguous or incomplete were identified. Then one or more interviews were held individually with the authors of the thematic papers to clarify and expand the explicitness of each category (see Content Outline for thematic Write-ups). These sessions were taped and analyzed.

Following the initial interviews, the author and the final analysis team members sought additional examples of the categories in the data base typically moving from more to less generalized data sources as needed (e.g., from memos to semester summary reports, and then to interviews and fieldnotes). They also consulted related literature for additional support for the emerging concepts. When necessary, participant observers were interviewed to facilitate the search of data bases, to clarify ambiguities in the data, and to seek criticism and suggestions regarding the emerging categories. All participant observers were consulted concerning at least one of the major categories. The final analysis of individual categories was completed with the redrafting of a thematic paper which was critiqued by original authors and other members of the final analysis team.

To work out the interrelationships among major categories, group interviews were conducted with the authors of several thematic papers. These sessions were also taped and analyzed. More than one session was needed for this complex task. In particular, one set of sessions was held with the individuals responsible for student motives, instructor motives, and time and another with those responsible for physical setting, temporal setting, and social organization. The anthropologist on the final analysis team attended the second set of sessions as a consultant.

The adoption of a conceptual framework for, and a definition of, literacy required that the two individuals responsible for final analysis in the instructional component meet frequently with other final analysis team members to discuss the emerging framework. Since the previous phase of analysis had been moving toward a transactional view of literacy, the literature on the transactional orientation was reviewed. A provisional statement of a conceptual framework based on a transactional orientation was prepared and critiqued by the final analysis team.

The steps involved in attaining the three goals associated with completing the analysis were carried out simultaneously rather than sequentially. These goal-directed processes influenced each other. For example, the clarification of interrelationships among categories facilitated and was facilitated by both the refinement of individual concepts and the development of a conceptual framework.

The final analysis phase produced a draft copy of a final report of the instructional component entitled "Literacy in Oakwood Classrooms".

Summary

The anatomy of the analysis is summarized in Figures 2-5. In Figure 2, we observe the interactive nature of data collection, coding and analysis. During the field work phase of the project, on three different occasions, we went through the steps depicted in Figure 3.

In the first subphase of the post field work phase of the research, we focused our data analysis (see Figure 4). Of particular interest was the procedure used to analyze each category which involved cycling all participants through a prologue--memo intake--recitation/discussion sequence. This procedure greatly expedited our data search and analysis. Furthermore, participants felt an obligation to reciprocate information

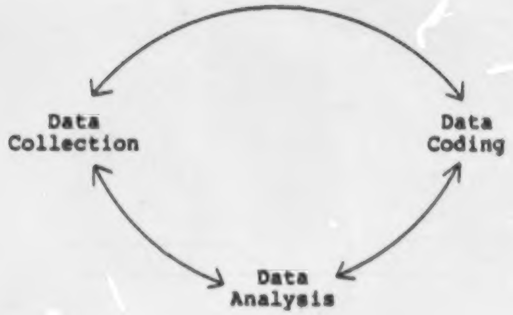

Data
Collection
Data
Coding
Data
Analysis

Figure 2
Relationship Among Data Collection,
Coding, and Analysis

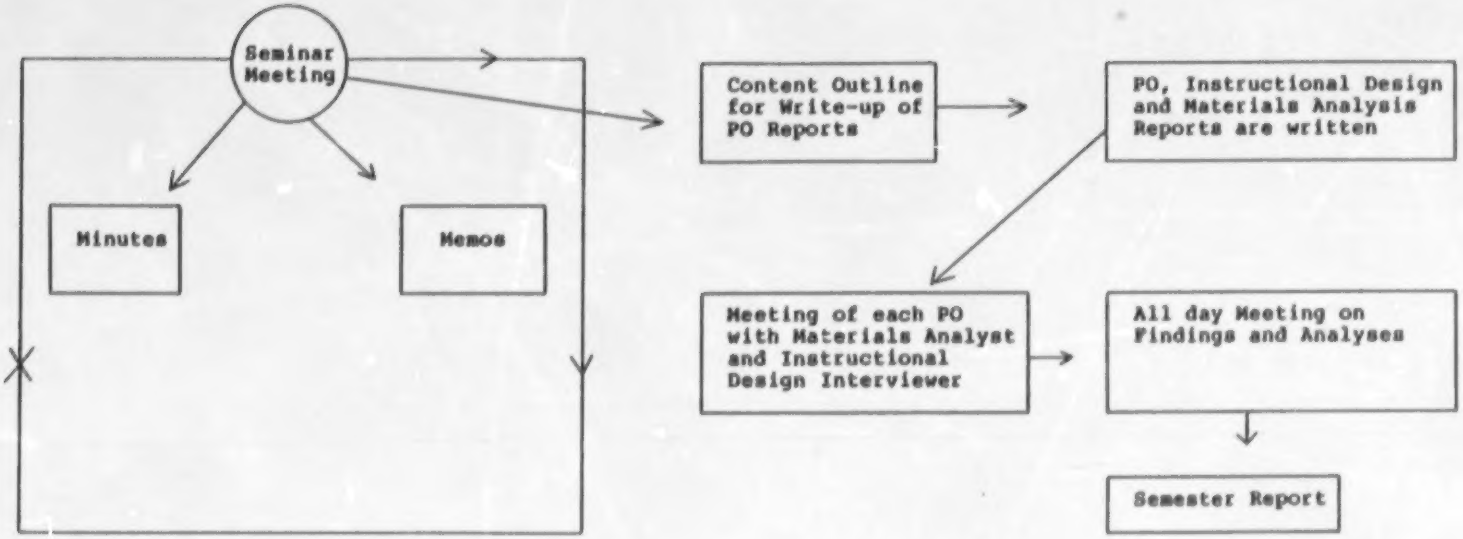

Seminar Meeting
Minutes
Memos
Content Outline for Write-up of PO Reports
PO, Instructional Design and Materials Analysis Reports are written
Meeting of each PO with Materials Analyst and Instructional Design Interviewer
All day Meeting on Findings and Analyses
Semester Report

Figure 3

Steps of Analysis During Fieldwork

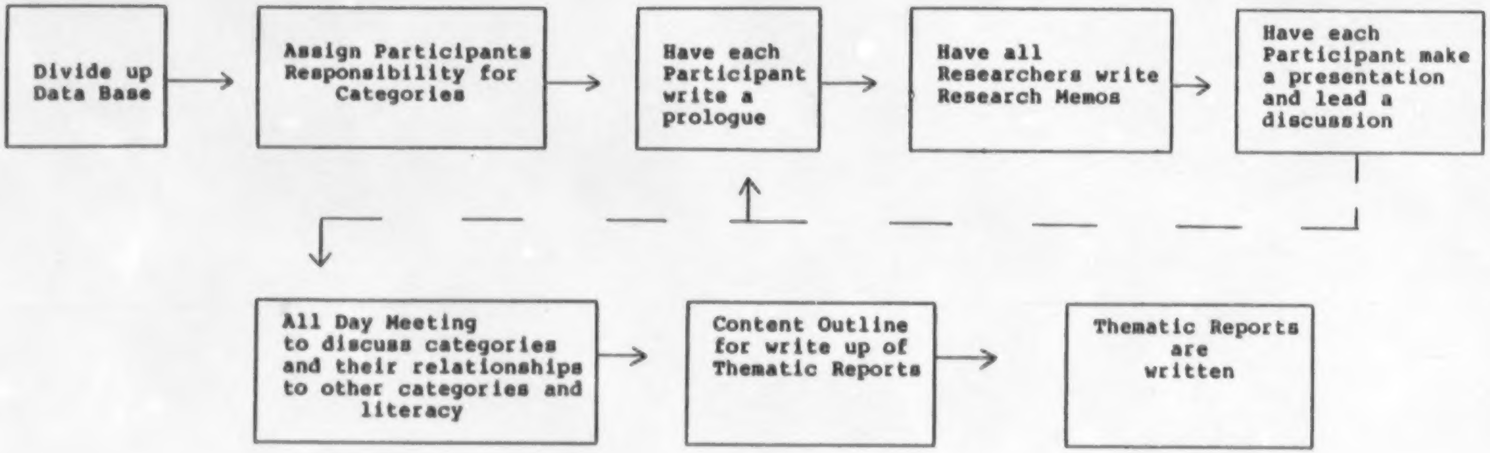
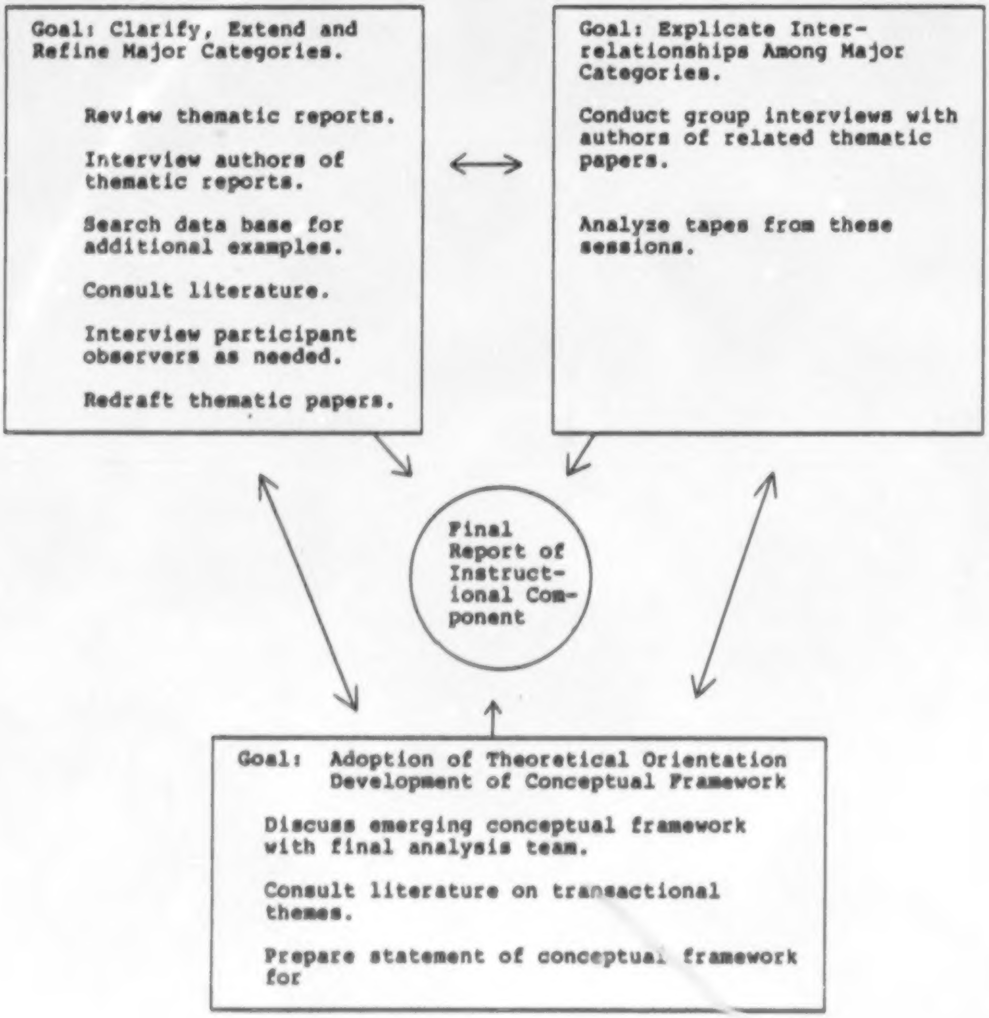

Divide up Data Base
Assign Participants Responsibility for Categories
Have each Participant write a prologue
Have all Researchers write Research Memos
Have each Participant make a presentation and lead a discussion
All Day Meeting to discuss categories and their relationships to other categories and literacy
Content Outline for write up of Thematic Reports
Thematic Reports are written

Figure 4

Steps in _Focusing_ Analysis Following Field Work



Goal: Clarify, Extend and Refine Major Categories.

Review thematic reports.

Interview authors of thematic reports.

Search data base for additional examples.

Consult literature.

Interview participant observers as needed.

Redraft thematic papers.

Goal: Explicate Interrelationships Among Major Categories.

Conduct group interviews with authors of related thematic papers.

Analyze tapes from these sessions.

Goal: Adoption of Theoretical Orientation
Development of Conceptual Framework

Discuss emerging conceptual framework with final analysis team.

Consult literature on transactional themes.

Prepare statement of conceptual framework for

Figure 5
Steps in Completing the Analysis Organized in
Three Goal-directed Sequences.

received by providing information to others. Also, by negotiating individual responsibility for topics, participants acquired a sense of ownership about their categories which increased their motivation to persist in the face of a difficult task.

Finally, the steps involved in the completion of the analysis are depicted in Figure 5. There it can be seen that three tasks of analysis went on simultaneously--clarifying major categories, describing the interrelationships among categories, and developing a conceptual framework for literacy. These tasks influenced and facilitated each other. Each task involved a number of "dialogues" between the final analysis team members and other members of the instructional component, the data base, and literature in related fields. The analysis resulting from these dialogues led to the formulation of the comprehensive view of literacy in the Oakwood classrooms presented in the project report.

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